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Some of the 223 troops of the 27th Alpine Division board a plane in Lyon yesterday, en route for south Lebanon, where they are to replace other French troops in Unifil. Later, in Israel, they travelled aboard trucks and buses to Unifil headquarters in Nakoura. It was announced yesterday that the French Unifil contingent had withdrawn from 29 of the 32 positions it formerly held around the Lebanese village of Jouti. French soldiers have been under attack of late in the area.

Second strike in three days

IAF hits Fatah bases in Lebanon

By HURSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent
and agencies

Israeli planes yesterday attacked terrorist targets in Lebanon for the second time in three days. The attack, according to the army spokesman, was directed against a pro-Arafat FLO Fatah base consisting of several tents in a forest south of Sidon.

All the planes returned safely. Yesterday's raid was the 11th this year and was "consistent with Israel's pre-emptive policy against planned terrorist operations," according to a military source. The *Jerusalem Post* was told by senior military sources that yesterday's strike, like Tuesday's, was not related to events in southern Lebanon or to current tensions there.

According to reports from Beirut one "militiaman" was killed and another wounded in the raid. These reports said that three Israeli planes, covered by another three, carried out the attack on an olive grove

near the Mieh-Mieh refugee camp, in under five minutes. The army spokesman denied reports from Lebanese security sources that the planes had raided Mieh-Mieh, and said the targeted outpost was far from any populated area.

One Palestinian was killed and two were wounded, Palestinian sources in Sidon said.

Senior defence sources, questioned yesterday on the situation in southern Lebanon, said that they "were extremely concerned" by the attacks on South Lebanon Army positions on Wednesday, but reiterated that Israel would not expand its military involvement in the area "beyond what is absolutely necessary."

Israeli defence officials yesterday stressed to *The Post* that Israel remained committed to its current policies vis-à-vis southern Lebanon. These policies, they said, rest on support for the continued control of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Edri back from Rabat

Peres pushing Jordan option

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Post Political Reporter

Israel's current peace efforts are geared toward the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation in the West Bank and Gaza, informed sources said yesterday.

The concept of a confederation was discussed extensively during Prime Minister Shimon Peres's recent meetings in Egypt and the U.S. and was acceptable to both countries, the sources said.

It was also discussed this week during a meeting in Rabat between Moroccan King Hassan II and Labour party Knesset caucus chairman Rafi Edri, who delivered written and verbal messages from Peres to the king.

The participation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation in an international peace conference would enable both Israel and the Palestinians to participate in peace talks without obliging Israel to recognize Palestinian self-determination, the sources said.

Edri and the other three members of the Israeli delegation to the World Conference of Moroccan Jewry, MKs Meir Shitrit (Likud), Yitzhak Peretz (Labour) and Aharon Abuhazzeira (Tami), returned to Israel last night after spending three days in Morocco.

Edri said on his return that he had proposed to the king, during a 55-minute private conversation, that Morocco participate in the proposed international peace conference as well as in the preparatory committee that would lay the groundwork for the conference.

He also proposed that the opening session of the conference be held in Morocco. Hassan did not reply to the proposals, preferring to wait for developments, Edri said.

The absence of diplomatic links between Morocco and Israel was not mentioned during the meeting. Relations would not be a prerequisite were Morocco to participate in the preparatory committee in an observer capacity.

An identical proposal—for Soviet observer participation—was reportedly made by Peres during his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze earlier this week.

Edri also reported to the king on Peres's recent meetings with Egyptian President Mubarak and U.S. President Reagan. It was Edri's second visit to Morocco in the past three weeks, the first having been conducted in secret.

All four Israeli representatives dined with Hassan and 22 other guests on Wednesday night. The dinner was held publicly, in accordance with all the demands of protocol and in the presence of Moroccan television.

A delegation from the Moroccan Jewish community is due to arrive in Israel tomorrow night.

Interior ministers discuss urgent new measures

EEC vows to 'outwit' terror

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
and agencies

LONDON. — EEC interior ministers yesterday introduced a far-reaching series of measures aimed at "outwitting" the increasingly well-organized terror units active in Europe.

The meeting, which marked a new urgency and seriousness in addressing the terrorism issue, saw participants vowing to "harry and disrupt" terrorists wherever they gather, to smash their lines of arms, equipment and financing, and to establish a "hot line" communication network between anti-terror security forces.

The meeting's most important step involved "targeting major terror leaders and organizers," British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd told reporters here after the meeting.

"What is necessary is to pick out the small number of really dangerous terrorists and to make absolutely sure that all information relating to their whereabouts and their activities is given priority treatment," said Hurd, who chaired yesterday's emergency summit.

Hurd added that the European Community's counter-terrorism operations would now "move to a different tempo."

The one-day conference was convened at France's request, following a spate of bombings in Paris which has left nine people dead and more than 160 injured over the past three weeks.

Hurd told the press that the ministers had

examined ways of improving cooperation between intelligence agencies and security services in the 12-nation bloc.

"There should be total pooling of information about terrorism, so that all agencies across Europe know exactly what the others know," he said.

He also said the British government was drawing

British officials argue that extradition proceedings between European countries are often lengthy and complicated by excessive red tape.

Some 12 community leaders, he went on, had agreed to set up a new, computerized system of "speedy and secure communications between European police forces," and had decided to "examine visa arrangements, and make effective use of exclusion and expulsion procedures."

But the idea of a European or international counter-terror force had been ruled out, Hurd said. While such a force would "attract a few headlines," it would ultimately prove "confusing to practical operations."

Hurd said it was far better that the ministers had agreed that each nation's own force would be ready, "at the drop of a hat," to come to the aid of its foreign counterpart.

Reaction to the announcement of yesterday's measures was mixed, with some sources pointing out that, at first glance at least, there was little new in the policies. The ministers, it was said, had agreed on the "easy matters," like improved exchange of information, but had left concrete measures such as tightened visa regulations to be discussed at a later date.

But other observers believed that yesterday's summit did indeed represent a quickening in tempo of the fight against terror. France, it was pointed out, had in the past often been one of the countries dragging its feet about implementing anti-terror measures. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Abu Nidal planning attacks

BONN (AP). — About 60 to 80 operatives of the Abu Nidal Palestinian terrorist group are in Europe planning attacks, a top West German Interior Ministry official said yesterday.

Carl-Dieter Spranger, state secretary in the ministry, said he had been provided with intelligence on the Abu Nidal group in talks with U.S. security officials in Washington over the past week.

Terrorist attacks attributed by Western security officials to Abu Nidal's gang include the Istanbul synagogue massacre on September 6 and the machinegun slayings of passengers at the Rome and Vienna airports last December.

up legislation to make it more difficult for suspected criminals wanted for trial in other countries to seek refuge in Britain.

"Those other countries in Europe will also look at their laws so that we can prevent criminals, and terrorists in particular, from using frontiers to hide behind," he said.

Reagan to veto SA sanctions

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — President Reagan will veto a tough congressional bill of economic sanctions against South Africa today, Senate Republican leader Bob Dole said yesterday.

The White House is also expected to announce a package of new measures against Pretoria in a bid to avert a congressional override of the president's veto.

Reagan, long a staunch opponent of what he calls punitive economic sanctions as a way to help end apartheid, argues that such measures will only hurt those whom America seeks to help—the black majority.

Labour ministers blast Likud settlement plans

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Alignment ministers, spearheaded by Prime Minister Shimon Peres, yesterday launched a frontal attack on the Likud programme to establish further settlements in the West Bank after the rotation.

Speaking at the 15th convention of the Farmers Federation, which closed yesterday at Kfar Hamacabiah in Ramat Gan, Peres turned to Mattityahu Drobles (Likud), chairman of the World Zionist Organization's settlement department, and said, "Matti, we will not permit the establishment of 20 new settlements. First, we will strengthen those that already exist, especially in the Negev, the Golan and the Galilee. When I visit Galilee settlements, they don't talk to me about Katyusha rockets, but about how hard-pressed they are financially."

"The money that we have will all go to existing settlements and not to the establishment of new ones. And we will not cut the budgets of the Defence, Education and Health Ministries for this purpose either."

In the same vein Economic Affairs Minister Gad Ya'acobi said that there would be no policy of massive settlement in the West Bank after the rotation.

"Nothing is going to change: only the prime minister and the foreign minister will change places. A massive settlement policy is in direct contradiction of Alignment policies and will trigger high inflation again," Ya'acobi said.

Arye Nebamkin, minister of agriculture, said that available funds must go to the settlements that need them most. He pointed out that most of the settlements in the Jordan rift face bankruptcy. He added that for months he had been demanding aid for the farming community from the Ministry of Finance, but to no avail.

Drobles argued that settlements in Judea and Samaria were a defence, and not an economic matter.

"Establishing military camps is more costly than establishing civilian settlements. And you must remember that wherever there's no Jewish settlement, a PLO country will be established, and they will try to drive us into the sea."

Later Peres also mentioned the need for immigration, with the largest potential for aliyah still being the Soviet Union. He said that in this matter a discrepancy existed between Israeli and Russian figures.

Shamir tries to calm fears

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — Vice Premier Shamir yesterday sought to allay Alignment anxiety about new settlements in the areas, stating that no new settlements would be established other than the six mentioned in the coalition agreement.

Shamir was speaking to reporters in New York and his remarks were broadcast on Kol Yisrael's early morning news magazine.

He explained that he opposed Gush Emunim's demand for 10 new settlements a year in the coming two years after rotation. He noted that the Likud was bound by the coalition agreement and that, in addition, given the country's economic difficulties it would be better to concentrate on enlarging existing settlements.

The national unity government has established only one of the six settlements agreed on in 1984. The Likud, sources close to Shamir told *The Jerusalem Post* can be expected to ensure that the remaining five are set up soon. But it will not go beyond that, the sources stressed.

Shamir's statement came under immediate fire from Teliya spokesmen.

Shamir told France won't leave Unifil

By WALTER RUBY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond assured Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir yesterday that it was not French policy to pull out of Unifil.

He also told Shamir that France would not co-sponsor a Security Council resolution with the Soviet Union calling for a preparatory conference for an international conference on the Middle East.

Raimond said that France did not oppose the Soviet proposal, but understood it would be difficult to implement it, given Israel's strong opposition.

According to Shamir's spokesman, Avi Pazner, the French minister's assurances came during what Pazner called a "friendly meeting" to discuss the recently passed

French-sponsored resolution in the Security Council. This called for Israeli withdrawal from the south Lebanon security zone and the redeployment of Unifil forces along the international border. Raimond said this was not directed against Israel, but rather to draw the attention of the world to the dangerous situation confronting Unifil forces in their present positions.

Pazner said Shamir responded with "sharp criticism" of the Unifil resolution, calling it "absurd." Shamir maintained that even if Israel were to withdraw, Unifil troops along the border would come under heavier attack from militant Shi'ites than they have suffered in their present positions. Shamir repeated in strong words that Israel would not withdraw from the security zone.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

UN sources in Lebanon:

De Cuellar may ask for Unifil pullout

NAKOURA (AP). — Sources at Unifil headquarters here say UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar may recommend a withdrawal of the nine-nation force from Lebanon when he reports to the Security Council in three weeks.

"Everybody knows this is an absolutely impossible situation for a peacekeeping operation," said a senior Unifil official.

"We cannot start behaving as an occupying force," the Unifil official said. "We cannot use the iron fist."

In Damascus, a senior Iranian diplomat said yesterday that Tehran does not know or control the Shi'ite Moslem groups that are attacking the UN peacekeeping forces and holding U.S. and French

hostages in Lebanon.

"Nobody knows about the number of these factions or who they are, and since we do not know them, we have no way to pressure them," claimed Iran's ambassador in Damascus, Mokatoislam Mohammedi Akhtari at a press conference yesterday.

Akhtari added that Iran "condemned" terrorism and the kidnappings of foreigners, but he also stressed that Tehran does not approve the "useless" presence of the Unifil force.

In Paris, the French government has made a series of mysterious Middle East contacts apparently aimed at preventing a resumption of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



American activists in Project Renewal march with Israeli residents of development towns and neighbourhoods in Jerusalem yesterday.

(Rahamin Israeli)

'One people, one destiny' theme of UJA J'lem march

By JOEL REBIBO
For The Jerusalem Post

"One People, One Destiny," the United Jewish Appeal's campaign theme, was most eloquently expressed last night by a 70-year-old Klamie resident whose Hebrew is still not fluent 40 years after his arrival from Yemen.

Shlomo Garavani was marching from Jerusalem's Russian Compound to the Western Wall, together with members of the Detroit Jewish community that has adopted Ramle under Project Renewal.

Under his long black coat, Garavani wore a blue UJA tee-shirt. He held his round black hat in his hand, and his white peyot (side-locks) dangled from a blue and white baseball cap that declared "Detroit Loves Ramle."

Asked why he had come to Jerusalem to march with Jews from Detroit, he responded, "Our life has improved because of them."

He had a hard time expressing in what ways life in Ramle had improved. But other residents on the march elaborated. Money from Detroit had provided new roads, parks, housing loans to young couples, loans for renovations, clubs and social activities, then said. "We are closer with one another because of what they've done for us," explained one woman.

The same refrain could be heard from residents of Tiberias, Kiryat Gat, Acre—in all some 2,000 Israelis from all over the country joined 1,500 U.S. Jews to kick off the 1987

UJA drive.

And the Detroit Jews were grateful, too. Harold and Penny Blumenstein, members of the President's Mission (contributions of at least \$10,000) had toured Poland before coming to Israel.

"We feel fabulous being here," Penny said. "In Poland there are no young Jews. The average age (of Jews) is 77."

The message last night was clear. Jews in Israel and the U.S. would not allow Soviet Jews to be forgotten. Vladimir Brodsky, who arrived only last week from the Soviet Union, appeared on the dais with his wife and baby daughter and spoke of his joy at being in Jerusalem and his concern for those he left behind.

"Natan Sharansky and I are free thanks to you," he declared. "I Prime Minister Peres, wearing a black kippa, promised that Israel would fight both publicly and behind the scenes for Soviet Jews."

"We won't give up until Soviet Jews will be permitted to come to the shores of their homeland," he declared to enthusiastic applause. "And they will come!"

The moving ceremonies were meant to inspire UJA activists to return to the U.S. and work even harder for Israel. It was clear that the effort was successful.

At their concluding dinner last night, the 620 members of the UJA President's Mission announced total contributions of \$14,150,000—a 30 per cent increase over donations by the same group last year.

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	25.3.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	15	10	20	Clear
BIRMINGHAM	15	10	20	Clear
BRUSSELS	15	10	20	Clear
CHICAGO	28	18	38	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	15	10	20	Clear
FRANKFURT	15	10	20	Clear
GENEVA	15	10	20	Clear
LONDON	15	10	20	Clear
MADRID	15	10	20	Clear
MILAN	15	10	20	Clear
MUNICH	15	10	20	Clear
NEW YORK	28	18	38	Cloudy
PARIS	15	10	20	Clear
ROME	15	10	20	Clear
STOCKHOLM	15	10	20	Clear
TORONTO	28	18	38	Cloudy
ZURICH	15	10	20	Clear

swissair

THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	15	20
Golan	15	20
Nahariya	15	20
Safed	15	20
Haifa Port	15	20
Tiberias	15	20
Nazareth	15	20
Afula	15	20
Shomron	15	20
Tel Aviv	15	20
B-G Airport	15	20
Jericho	15	20
Gaza	15	20
Beersheba	15	20
Eilat	15	20

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Argentine secretary of state for science and technology, Dr. Manuel Sadosky, and the president of the Argentine National Council of Scientific Research and Technology, Dr. Carlos Abello, visited the Hebrew University yesterday. At a luncheon hosted by the rector and acting president, Prof. Amnon Pazy, they met with scholars and professors of various departments.

PM, Alignment ministers discuss rotation strategy

By ROY ISACOWITZ
TEL AVIV. — The Labour Alignment ministers were to meet at the Jerusalem home of Prime Minister Shimon Peres last night to finalize their demands in anticipation of rotation.

The pre-rotation discussions between Labour and the Likud are likely to begin shortly after Finance Minister Moshe Nissim returns from the U.S. in a week's time. Nissim and Energy Minister Shalom (Labour) will be the chief negotiators, though they are likely to be joined by other party officials.

Peres and Vice Prime Minister Shamir are expected to meet next week to set the broad outlines of the talks, Labour sources said.

On the agenda for last night's meeting was Labour's demand for an active role in economic decision-making, either by having Peres chair the ministerial economic committee, or by establishing a new economic guidance committee of Shamir, Peres, Nissim and Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi.

Senior Likud sources have preemptively rejected Labour's demands, saying only that the Likud would be prepared to exchange the Finance portfolio for the Defence portfolio, currently held by Yitzhak Rabin.

Jaffa man, 80, gassed and robbed in home

TEL AVIV (Itim). — An 80-year-old Jaffa man was yesterday robbed of NIS 2,000 in his home, after the burglar had sprayed him with tear gas.

Ya'acov Kantor said that a young man entered his flat early in the morning, sprayed him, and then demanded money.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Israeli, Egyptian officials to meet in Geneva

Delegations to try solving third arbitrator dispute

By BENNY MORRIS
Israeli and Egyptian officials are to meet in Geneva on Monday to try to solve the last remaining obstacle to the start of the Taba arbitration process — the selection of the third international arbitrator.

So far, Israel and Egypt have each named one of their own nationals to the panel and have agreed on two of the international arbitrators, Swiss international law expert Prof. Dietrich Schindler and French law expert Pierre Bellet.

Next week, Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche and the ministry's legal adviser, Robbi Sabel, are to meet the legal adviser of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, Nabil al-Arabi, and Schindler and Bellet, to select the fifth member of the panel.

Contrary to recent press reports, the selection of the last member will

not be made by the two international arbitrators. Rather, the two will propose candidates and Israel and Egypt will be asked to agree on one of them.

After his selection, the two governments must ratify the compromise, which outlines the terms of reference of the arbitration. The arbitration is to begin, at Geneva, several days after this.

The first four to five months of the process will be devoted to the two countries' preparing their cases or submissions of claim to the disputed border areas.

Meanwhile, Israel is awaiting word from Egypt about the start of talks between the two countries on compensation for the families of the victims of last October's Ras Burka massacre.

The last stage of the Taba talks, the Peres-Mubarak summit, and the

absence abroad of the Egyptian deputy minister of justice have delayed the start of the compensation talks. The families, who are pressing for the talks to start, will be represented by Prof. Yitzhak Zamir, the former attorney-general.

Egypt earlier this month agreed in principle to an out-of-court settlement, to its responsibility for the massacre, and to the principle of financial compensation.

The amount of compensation will be determined in the talks between Zamir and Egyptian Justice Minister experts and is likely to be based on precedents.

Possible precedents are the compensation paid to the victims of the Israel Air Force attack on the USS Liberty in 1967, and to the passengers of the Libyan Airways jet liner shot down by the IAF over Sinai in 1973.

Peres agrees GSS lawyers must go

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Prime Minister Peres has reportedly agreed to remove the two pardoned Shin Bet (General Security Service) attorneys from their posts in the near future.

Attorney-General Yosef Harish, who met with Peres yesterday, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that "it is time to end this dismal affair over the two attorneys." Harish said that Peres, who was authorized to decide finally about the two, "shared these sentiments."

Peres will meet today with the new chief of the Shin Bet to finalize arrangements for the attorneys' retirement from the service.

The two attorneys have repeatedly claimed that during the "presidential pardon night" they were promised that "no further action" would be taken against them once the pardons were granted.

The promise was reportedly made by attorney Ram Caspi, who played a key role in securing the pardons. The cabinet's acquiescence in the "deal" has been a matter of dispute.

Harish has denied any knowledge of a promise given the two attorneys. The continued service of the attorneys, who have admitted to falsifying evidence and inciting witnesses to commit perjury, has caused a virtual break in the relations be-

tween the Shin Bet and the State Attorney's office.

Harish added, however, that he objects to the "riot" surrounding possible disciplinary proceedings against the two by the Israeli Bar.

In a letter sent to the Bar on Tuesday, MK Shulamit Aloni (Citizens Rights Movement) revealed the names of the two attorneys. The Bar had claimed that lacking details about the two, it could not charge them before a disciplinary tribunal.

The Bar referred the matter to Harish, who believes that removing the two from their posts "is punishment enough."

Demjanjuk charge sheet due Monday

By MENACHEM SHALEV
For *The Jerusalem Post*
The state attorney's office intends to submit the charge sheet against suspected Nazi war criminal Ivan Demjanjuk to the Jerusalem district court on Monday.

Justice Minister Avraham Shafir, who is returning from abroad on Sunday morning, and Attorney-General Yosef Harish must still finally approve the charge sheet.

With its presentation, Demjanjuk's current remand, scheduled to end on October 1, will be extended until the end of his trial.

The charge sheet, reportedly about 25 pages long, is currently being given the "finishing touches" by the state attorney's team, which has been labouring over it since February, when Demjanjuk was extradited from the U.S.

State Attorney Yona Blattman will apparently present the prosecution's opening arguments, although a final decision on this has yet to be made. The other possibility is that Harish himself will open the prosecution's case.

State prosecutors said yesterday they were "confident" they could positively identify Demjanjuk as Treblinka's infamous "Ivan the Terrible."

The trial itself will apparently open in January, after Demjanjuk's lawyer, Mark O'Connor, has reviewed the charge sheet and prepared his defence.

IAF

(Continued from Page One)
the area by the SLA; opposition to any redeployment to the international border by Unifil; a minimal Israeli military presence in the security zone; and a tactical working relationship with Amal.

The intention is to continue to respond to "tactical threat with tactical means," according to Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy, and not to change Israel's basic strategic policies.

Foreign Minister Shamir yesterday accused Syria, Iran and the PLO of responsibility for the most recent upsurge in terrorism in south Lebanon.

Shamir, attending the opening session of the UN General Assembly, told *The Washington Post* that the Iranian embassy in Damascus was directing terrorist attacks by radical Shi'ite groups against French peacekeeping forces.

"There is an increase of the Palestinian terrorists' military forces in this part of Lebanon," he replied. "It seems that Arafat is determined again to get a military buildup in this part of Lebanon. And this is a danger for our security. And by these raids, we want to prevent it."

Burg resigns portfolio, but NRP still buzzing

By SARAH HONIG
For *The Jerusalem Post*
Post Political Correspondent
TEL AVIV. — Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg — Israel's veteran cabinet member — finally tendered his resignation yesterday. But his manner of doing so stirred controversy in the National Religious Party.

The NRP has been buzzing with speculation that Burg was in no hurry to quit the cabinet. He has been under pressure to resign for a few years, but has several times put off his promised departure. Earlier this month, the NRP convention overwhelmingly voted that he would be succeeded by MK Zevulun Hammer.

In his letter of resignation to Prime Minister Peres, Burg did not specify a date. He merely asked that his resignation take effect three days before the next Knesset session. This is to make sure the party is not left unrepresented in the cabinet during the gap between his own resignation and Hammer's swearing in.

A minister's resignation takes

effect 48 hours from the time he has put it in writing to the prime minister.

Burg's reasoning is that the Knesset is now in recess and that it may not convene fast to ratify Hammer's appointment. If it did not, the NRP would be left without a religious affairs minister until the end of the holiday season, when the Knesset opens its new session.

But should the Knesset indeed be called to special session, his resignation would take effect three days prior to the special session's date, Burg explained.

Some of Hammer's supporters were outraged, arguing that the straightforward thing for Burg to have done was to resign immediately, or possibly at Sunday's weekly cabinet session, without what they called any additional "hair-splitting."

Hammer's supporters now plan to seek a special Knesset session early next week, to make sure that Burg's resignation goes into effect quickly.

Ya'ari's version of murder interspersed with tears

By YORAM GAZIT
For *The Jerusalem Post*
TEL AVIV. — In her second day on the stand in her trial for the murder of Mala Malavski, Hava Ya'ari told a hushed courtroom her version of the events that had led to the death of the American tourist.

Ya'ari cried through much of her testimony, and seemed close to fainting several times.

She told the court how, half drunk, she and her co-defendant, her former best friend Aviva Granot, had picked up Malavski in central Tel Aviv.

The purpose of the meeting was to settle a financial dispute between Malavski and Ya'ari.

Ya'ari was anxious to settle the dispute that night, she said, because Malavski was due to leave Israel the following day.

Ya'ari said that Granot was desperate to repay a debt she owed a money lender, had pressed Malavski to give Ya'ari back money that she owed her, or at least \$2,500 of it, a sum Granot had to hand over by midnight.

Granot, Ya'ari told the court, threatened to kill Malavski if she didn't get the money and Malavski

told her to "get lost and leave me alone."

Instead of driving to the Mandarin, Ya'ari turned the car around and headed back to Tel Aviv. However, she continued, on the way back she lost her way and, on a dark dirt road near the Tel-Baruch beach, Granot hit Malavski from behind and then prevented her from jumping out of the car.

At one point, Malavski, who turned to lean her back on the passenger door, facing Ya'ari who was driving, apparently fell out of the car and hit her head on a rock, Ya'ari told the court.

When they got out of the car, she continued, they saw that Malavski was bleeding from a cut to the head. Ya'ari panicked, thinking that Malavski was dead.

"Aviva checked her pulse and said to me, 'You fool, she's dead. We'd better get rid of her, or else we're going to get caught up in something pretty serious,'" Ya'ari told the court.

"I was dependent on Aviva and trusted her. When she told me to leave Malavski there and get rid of any incriminating evidence, I just did what she told me to do."

Granot sat with an air of detachment through much of Ya'ari's testimony, and sometimes laughed.

SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)
and would not abandon the SLA. Pazner also made clear that reports in the Israeli media that Israel and Bulgaria had agreed to set up interest sections in each other's countries were not accurate.

Pazner said that Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petar Mladenov had assured Shamir that "Israel does not have a better friend in Europe than Bulgaria" and that Bulgaria would "consider" establishing relations with Israel. The meeting took place at the Bulgarian mission to the UN.

However, according to Pazner, Mladenov explained that the "political situation" did not allow Bulgaria to express its true opinions. Mladenov urged Israel to come to terms with its neighbors and to establish relations with the Soviet Union, because "there cannot be a solution without the Soviet Union."

Nurses after seeing Peres: 'We're insulted to the core'

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter
"Insulted to the depths of our souls" was how the hospital nurses described themselves last night on leaving a meeting with Prime Minister Peres.

But although they said they were disappointed at his inability to find a solution to their dispute, they reluctantly agreed to take part in further negotiations at the Histadrut on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. No other plans have been announced.

Representatives of the country's 11,000 hospital nurses sat with Peres, Health Minister Gur and Acting Finance Minister Gideon Patti for an hour.

Peres apologized for being able to

give them only an hour, as he had to attend a United Jewish Appeal mission ceremony at the Western Wall. But he offered to meet the nurses again at the beginning of next week.

Through most of the meeting, Peres tried an appeal to the nurses' patriotism. "We are all children of the same nation; we are all in the same boat," he said. The premier added that he was "sure" the nurses would not want to topple the country's economic recovery.

"You are demanding a 300 per cent increase. Where will the money come from? The blanket is too small to cover us all."

The nurses, aggressive most of the time, retorted: "We know how the blankets in the hospitals look."

Peres did not promise to persuade Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, who is due to join the talks with the nurses next week after he returns from the U.S., to give in and substantially raise the Treasury's offer. But he did sympathize with them. And he did say they deserved more money.

Nurses' salaries total \$80 million a year. "How will we pay for them?" he asked, if there was to be a tripling of wages. They should lower their demands, he urged.

The nurses, who had predicted that little would come of the meeting, said afterwards that they were "completely exhausted" by the marathon talks of the past few weeks.



Listening to Queen Elizabeth as she opened the 32nd Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in London yesterday were (left to right): the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham; Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; and the speaker of the Indian parliament, Bal Ram Jakhar. (Reuters)

Professors near agreement on pay cut to save HU

By BERNARD JOSEPHS
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Hebrew University professors and other senior academic staff are expected to agree to take a 10 per cent pay cut in a bid to save the debt-ridden university, their union representative said last night.

But at the same time, he insisted that the university management must bear the blame for leading the country's foremost academic institution to the edge of financial ruin. And he warned that the staff would give them a tough time at a mass meeting scheduled for Tuesday.

Economics Professor David Levhari, representing the senior staff in negotiations over how to save the university, admitted they had little choice but to agree to a management call to give up about 10 per cent of salaries.

"They had been left in no doubt that if they didn't make this sacrifice, the university would not be able to open this year," he said.

"We are angry and extremely bitter about this. We are not to blame for what has happened," said Levhari.

The university's \$50 million-plus deficit, which would necessitate a cut of \$10m, this year as a first step back to solvency, had been caused by poor financial control and bad planning, he asserted.

He cited unnecessary building at the Givat Ram campus after most faculties had been moved to Mt. Scopus, confusion over cash flow, and failure to recognize the seriousness of the situation.

"We had no idea there was a financial crisis until this summer, yet it had been going on for years. It is clear that the management didn't know what was going on," said Levhari.

The professor insisted that although more than 70 per cent of the university's budget goes to wages, the academic staff did not feel responsible for the crisis that led to last month's resignation of Prof. Don Patinkin as university president.

Academic staff are badly paid, he asserted, with a full professor's basic take-home pay about \$1,000 and an associate professor's between \$800-\$900.

"Of course there are extras," he admitted, "but this is a realistic salary to pay someone who has spent years studying to reach professor level."

He predicted that Tuesday's meeting, to be attended by the university management and academic staff, would be stormy. "There is serious criticism about the way the university is run and this is bound to be expressed."

EEC

(Continued from Page One)
On Wednesday, Britain sealed an anti-terror pact with the Soviet Union. The agreement, concluded in New York between Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze, reflected Moscow's increasing feeling of vulnerability to terrorist attack following the kidnapping of four of its diplomats in Beirut last year, according to diplomatic sources.

In Paris, police yesterday detained French extreme left-wing militant Frederic Oriach as he prepared to hold a hurriedly called news conference in the Luxembourg Gardens.

Witnesses said police drove him off in a car after he had been picked up by two plain-clothes officers. Oriach, a pro-Palestinian militant, was released from jail earlier this year and was later reported to have spent some time in Syria.

DE CUELLAR

(Continued from Page One)

violence at home and against French targets abroad.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's official spokesman said that Greek Catholic Archbishop Hilarion Capucci had been allowed to visit jailed Lebanese militant Georges Ibrahim Abdallah because the government believed that "Capucci could get across a certain number of messages to Mr. Abdallah."

Abdallah is one of three convicted leftists whose release is being demanded by a Middle East group which has claimed responsibility for a recent wave of Paris bombings.

But Chirac's spokesman, Denis Baudouin, denied that the Syrian-born Capucci, who was jailed in Israel in 1974 for PLO gun-running, was acting as a French-sponsored mediator.

"Our duty is to make sure that terrorist acts do not continue but we will not give in to blackmail," Baudouin told reporters.

More news page 17

To Dr. Fisher and Family
Deepest sympathy on the death of your wife, mother

LINDA

Your Colleagues at
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Soroka Hospital
Beersheba

A memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone of our dear
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Corrie, Stella, Motti
Engelstein and Family

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U.S. offers two-stage plan for quick release of Daniloff

UNITED NATIONS. — The U.S. has offered the Soviet Union a two-stage proposal for the liberation of American reporter Nicholas Daniloff in Moscow, U.S. officials said.

"We're working on it," said U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during a break in meetings Wednesday with foreign ministers attending the special session of the General Assembly.

His negotiating partner, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, had an equally brief response when asked about the sensitive issue: "The less noise the better. We continue to work in a calm atmosphere."

In Moscow, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday that a compromise is still possible in the Daniloff case, but declined comment on reports that the U.S. had proposed a two-stage plan to free the American newsman whom the Soviets accuse of spying. The spokesman said only that U.S.-Soviet contacts on the Daniloff case were under way in New York.

Shultz and Shevardnadze held two meetings Tuesday, both unannounced. A U.S. official described the negotiations Wednesday as "active," and others held out the possibility that Shultz would see Shevardnadze again.

The proposal advanced by Washington would free Daniloff from his restrictions to Moscow while the trial of Soviet physicist Gennadiy Zakharov on spy charges would proceed in New York.

But if Zakharov were convicted, the U.N. secretariat employee would be exchanged for a handful of Soviet dissidents.

Daniloff was detained by the KGB in Moscow

one week after Zakharov was arrested in New York, and U.S. officials said the journalist's arrest was intended to give the Kremlin bargaining leverage in the Zakharov case.

Publicly, officials in the Reagan administration refuse to equate the Daniloff and Zakharov cases, saying the correspondent for U.S. News and World Report is innocent. They also rule out any trade.

But privately, U.S. officials acknowledge the proposal has been submitted to the Soviets for consideration.

The New York Times, quoting unidentified officials, reported yesterday that the U.S. is now willing to let Zakharov leave before being tried.

The Times also quoted unidentified Soviet sources as saying that in exchange for Daniloff's release, Moscow wanted some relief from the recent U.S. expulsion order for 25 members of the Soviet Mission to the UN, some of whom already have left.

The Washington Post reported yesterday that the Soviet Union has offered to release Daniloff — apparently without putting him on trial for espionage — if the U.S. modified the expulsion order for the Soviet members of the UN mission.

The Post, quoting unidentified non-Soviet East-bloc sources, said the Soviets were also reported to be willing to release several dissidents, including some Jews, as part of a package deal for Daniloff's release. It was not clear, the paper said, whether they were offering to release the dissidents before or after Zakharov's trial.

The Soviet proposal also would let the U.S. put Zakharov on trial in New York provided he

is subsequently allowed to return home, the Post said.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said a mutually acceptable solution to the Daniloff case could be found. "However," he said, "to achieve a compromise, we believe one needs a calm situation, without dramatizing the case. We do not believe publicizing this problem on the front pages of newspapers will help resolve it."

The Kremlin has been trying to dampen public outcry over the Daniloff case in the West. On Wednesday, First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri Vorontsov accused the U.S. Press of blowing the case "out of all proportion."

In Washington, the Senate voted yesterday to order even deeper cuts in the number of Soviet diplomats at Moscow's UN Mission, going beyond cuts already demanded by President Reagan.

The administration has long accused the Soviet Mission of being a nest of spies, and has already ordered Moscow to reduce its diplomats to 170 over a three-year period.

Yesterday's Senate-approved measure would require the administration to cut Moscow's UN mission staff further, to about 130 — roughly equivalent to the number of diplomats at the U.S. mission to the UN.

The provision was part of the 1987 Intelligence Authorization Act, approved by a voice vote, that sets funding levels for the Central Intelligence Agency and other federal intelligence activities. (AP, Reuters)

Former Egyptian premier scores critics of Alexandria

By MURAD AL-IMARI

Former Egyptian premier Mustapha Khalil on Wednesday lashed into Arab critics of the recent Egyptian-Israeli summit in one of the strongest defenses of President Mubarak's diplomatic initiative yet to appear in the Egyptian press.

"The summit crowned the success of Egyptian diplomacy led by President Mubarak," wrote Khalil in the Cairo daily Al-Ahram.

Khalil's support for Mubarak's diplomatic moves is significant, because as secretary-general of the ruling National Democratic Party, Khalil is a powerful figure in his own right.

As for the objections in Arab quarters to the summit, Khalil noted that all Arab states had accepted UN Security Council Resolution 242, which "recognized the right of Israel to live in peace within secure and recognized borders."

Khalil criticized what he called the hypocrisy of Syria and the Jordanian press in their attacks on the summit.

Despite Syrian calls for Arab unity against Israel, Syria carried out massacres in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps in 1976, he noted, and has allied itself with Iran against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War.

Khalil also refuted charges by the Jordanian newspapers Al-Dustoor and Al-Sha'ab that the Alexandria



Dr. Mustapha Khalil (Nackstrand)

the interest of the Palestinian cause. So why do they forget scores of secret meetings held between Arab and Israeli officials?"

Khalil stressed that Egypt had opened its arms to its Arab brothers "without letting anyone interfere in its sovereignty."

He added pointedly, "If Syria, as a country on the frontline with Israel, wants to wait for 40 or 50 years to restore the Golan, this is its own affair, but the important point here is that Egypt could not follow the Syrian view or permit an idea to be imposed upon it under the umbrella of a unanimous Arab stance."

"Therefore, Egypt had no alternative but to go ahead with the liberation of Sinai without affecting Palestinian rights; rather, the Egyptian movement was aimed at preserving Palestinian rights and saving the Palestinian territory."

The Egyptian politician added that both the Eastern and Western blocs are committed to safeguarding Israel's existence — "so it is possible that the Arabs, who cannot produce sophisticated weapons for their armies, could obtain from these states the weapons which will endanger Israel's security."

"Or shall we wait for 40 or 50 years until we say goodbye to the Palestinian question with slogans and songs?"

FOREIGN NEWS IN BRIEF

Killers refuse rescue

NICOSIA (AP). — Three convicted gunmen whose release was demanded by hijackers who seized a Pan American jumbo jet in Karachi on September 5 appealed to their comrades not to seize hostages to force authorities to free them.

The trio, a Briton and two Palestinians, are serving life sentences for killing three Israelis aboard a yacht on Cyprus's south coast last year.

"We do not wish to be part of any exchange agreement and will not accept release under such circumstances, nor do we wish to be released through force," the three said in a signed statement released yesterday.

Durban bomb fatality

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — A young white woman injured in a bomb blast earlier this month died yesterday in the Indian Ocean port of Durban, hospital officials said.

Monica Strijdom, 24, was among 18 people injured when the bomb went off at a supermarket on September 1.

Etna acting up

CATANIA, Sicily (AP). — Fine volcanic dust spewing out of Mount Etna settled over a wide area yesterday, forcing the temporary closure of the airport and causing traffic problems.

France sends troops to aid Togo regime

PARIS. — France said yesterday it was sending air and ground units to Togo at the request of President Gnassingbe Eyadema following an outbreak of shooting in the West African country.

"The president of the Togolese republic, taking into account the evolution of the situation in his country, has asked for the military aid of France under the defence agreements between Togo and France of July 10, 1963," a Defence Ministry statement said.

"Air and ground military units will be sent to Togo as quickly as possible."

France has troops and Jaguar warplanes based in the West African countries of Senegal, Central African Republic, Ivory Coast and Gabon. It also has combat aircraft in Chad.

Shooting broke out again in the Togolese capital of Lome yesterday, 48 hours after an abortive raid on the barracks where Eyadema lives. Thirteen died in the attack.

For decades one of the West Africa's most stable nations, Togo has described the raid on Eyadema's barracks on Tuesday as "a terrorist attack."

Yesterday's shooting erupted in Lome as security forces apparently

sought out remnants of a 50-strong invading force which military sources said intended to kill or capture the Togolese president.

Eye-witnesses said the shooting prevented normal activities from resuming after Wednesday's shutdown ordered to facilitate the search for the attackers.

Most people stayed home for the second day running, the witness said.

Residents who turned up for work following a call issued by the government Wednesday night had to return home when shooting broke out again after a 24-hour lull.

Some residents reported that tanks had taken up positions at strategic points while jet fighters flew overhead.

Togo, which has close links with France, is one of several former French colonies in West Africa to have military accords with Paris.

About 75 French military advisers are in Togo under a 1976 Technical Military Cooperation Agreement. Such cooperation was at the centre of talks between Eyadema and President Mitterrand in Paris last year.

The defence accord with Togo, like those with other African countries, allows the government to seek French intervention in the event of external aggression.

Australia holds back on Nazis

SYDNEY (AP). — A government inquiry into claims that Nazi war criminals settled in Australia has been extended because a similar Canadian investigation is due to report its findings, an official said yesterday.

A source in the office of Special Minister of State Mick Young said investigator Andrew Menzies planned to finish his probe this month, but is delaying his report to consider the findings of a Canadian Royal Commission. He is expected to report next month.

"Canada has some similarities to the situation in Australia. In particular, the postwar migration of Eastern Europeans," said the source.

The Menzies inquiry was launched in June after a Labour lawmaker said he had obtained documents under Australia's Freedom of Information Act purportedly asking Australia to go easy on war criminals.

The Australian Council of Jewish Affairs, representing the nation's estimated 100,000 Jews, claimed 150 Nazi war criminals and collaborators slipped into Australia among the 700,000 displaced people resettled after World War II.

Palestinians, Taiwan gain Olympic foothold

SEOUL (Reuters). — Taiwan and the top Palestinian sports body were provisionally admitted to the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) yesterday, but failed to gain full status after day-long deliberations which were held in conjunction with the 10th Asian games.

OCA President Sheikh Fahd al-Ahmad al-Sabah, who was re-elected to a second term as head of the body, said the National Olympic Committee of Taiwan and the Palestine National Olympic Committee were admitted unopposed.

"But the two will not get full membership yet for different reasons," Fahd said.

He said the Palestinians would not get full membership until the International Olympic Committee (IOC) recognized their organization.

(Despite its membership in the IOC, Israel, which last competed at the Asian games in 1974, has effectively been barred from the OCA by a strong Middle Eastern bloc. This bloc, especially the Persian Gulf states, helped found the 1978 Asian games in Bangkok, where Israel was suddenly asked not to come for security reasons.) On Taiwan, Fahd said there were certain constitutional hitches towards giving the country full membership and that

they mainly concerned the changing of its name to Chinese Taipei in accordance with an IOC formula.

The formula was worked out after China objected to competing in international sports events against teams representing Taiwan or the Republic of China.

"We are very happy our brothers in Chinese Taipei have been admitted to the OCA. We warmly welcome them to the Asian games in Peking in 1990," Chinese delegate He Zhehang said at the final OCA session to loud applause.

Taiwan's NOC Vice President Peter Chang said his country was equally happy to be honoured by the OCA, but added later that "Of course we are a little disappointed at not getting full membership."

Chang said that yesterday's decision would not ensure his country's participation at the next Asian games in Peking in 1990.

Taiwan was expelled from the Asian games after its last participation in 1970, and China was admitted. But when the OCA was formed four years ago, the Taipei government applied to join and membership was virtually assured since the OCA is bound by IOC membership rulings.

MIDDLE EAST BRIEFS

Iraqi planes hit factories

BAGHDAD (AFP). — Iraqi war planes set fire to four factories in simultaneous raids yesterday on the central cities of Isfahan and Arak deep inside Iran, the Iraqi military said here.

President Saddam Hussein called on the air force last Monday to intensify attacks on economic targets that fuel Iranian "aggression."

Syrian maneuvers

DAMASCUS (AP). — The Syrian Navy carried out maneuvers with the participation of ground and Air Force units yesterday to test combat coordination among the three corps, said an official announcement.

The exercises included the firing of surface-to-surface missiles, the announcement said.

ARAB LEAGUE. — Chedli Klibi, head of the Arab League, said in Tunis yesterday that mass emigration of Soviet Jews to the West Bank and Gaza could block the way to Middle East peace.

VETO. — Khartoum yesterday vetoed a plan to fly relief goods to thousands of starving people in southern Sudan because of what it said is a continuing threat from rebels in the area.

French would like to quit Unifil

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

PARIS. — Under growing pressure from members of parliament, the French government is looking for a face-saving way to withdraw its troops from Unifil, officials said yesterday.

"We cannot stay, we cannot go," one official said.

Following the recent attacks by the Iranian-backed Shi'ite Hizbollah, the French public and politicians have increasingly questioned the purpose of the peacekeeping force. "What good can they do there if they are unable to ensure their own security?" asked one member of parliament.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has ordered French Unifil troops out of its advanced positions and into the town of Nakoura. A few of the former French posts have been handed over to Nepalese soldiers in the nine-nation UN force. Others have simply been abandoned.

But as demonstrated by Tuesday's Security Council resolution for the redeployment of the Unifil force,

Chirac is not yet prepared to unilaterally withdraw the French contingent.

The prime minister's spokesman yesterday explained that France has a traditional commitment to Lebanon, especially to its Christian community. But, he said, "This does not mean that we can accept seeing our soldiers murdered."

Sources close to the Foreign Affairs Minister Jean-Bernard Raymond indicated that France is compelled to stay in Lebanon and that its "traditional commitment" is a convenient way of saying that France wants to maintain its influence in the region.

The source said that unlike the U.S., France could not remove its troops and expect to have a say in Middle East affairs, as it would be the end of France's political and cultural presence in the region, the source said. "How can we accept the fact that the only western symbol left in Lebanon would be the American Embassy in Beirut?"

"Look how many times Egyptian President Mubarak came to Paris.

Look how many times Peres did the same. Would they come if we were not present in Lebanon?" the source said.

France has paid for its stake in Lebanon with 123 Unifil casualties, and when the French public realized that its soldiers were the targets of anti-Western attacks, they wanted to know the identity of the culprit.

Because Paris is working hard to restore relations with Teheran, officials are hesitant to blame Iran despite its known affiliation with the Hizbollah. If the Hizbollah is attacking the French Unifil troops, it is because Israel refuses to withdraw its forces from South Lebanon.

France can point to the original UN mandate for the Unifil force, which said that Unifil's mission was to "confirm the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon" as part of re-establishing Lebanese authority over the entire country.

An easy way out for France may be to state that Israel's determination to stay in the security zone makes it impossible for Unifil to carry out its mission and thus it should be dismantled.

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Edited by Avner Ziv

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Date	Day	Port
16/10	Thursday	Haifa
17/10	Friday	Rhodes
18/10	Saturday	At Sea
19/10	Sunday	Corfu
20/10	Monday	At Sea
21/10	Thursday	Venice
22/10	Wednesday	Venice
23/10	Thursday	Dubrovnik
24/10	Friday	At Sea
25/10	Saturday	Crossing the Corinth Canal, arriving afternoon at Piraeus (Athens). Tel Aviv — Return home by air.

Despite concerns about the future:

Confidence in economic policy high

By HANOCH and RAFFI SMITH

On the eve of rotation, public confidence in the National unity government's handling of the economy reached new heights, according to the September 1-12 Smith Research Centre poll. The majority, however, is still concerned about the road ahead.

Of the 1,227 Jewish interviewees, 73 per cent supported the government's economic policy, and 71 per cent felt that the government was headed in the right direction to the solution of the country's economic problems.

But, although concern has lessened somewhat since the June poll, the public was not very confident about economic prospects. For example, 43 per cent felt in September, (41 per cent in June) that the recession was nearing its end and economic growth would come soon. The majority, who felt that more severe economic measures would be needed before Israel emerged from its economic crisis, fell from 58 per cent to 53 per cent over the same period.

Those expecting further price rises in the coming months fell five per cent to 59 per cent. There was also less pessimism about unemployment.

In September, 42 per cent felt that there would be a substantial rise in unemployment in the coming months, in February, the figure was 76 per cent.

Further evidence of insecurity about the economy's future is seen from the answers to a question on what would happen if price controls were lifted: 21 per cent thought a slow, steady price rise would ensue and 47 per cent thought rapid inflation would result - 68 per cent in all were apprehensive, as against 74 per cent in the June poll.

The figures indicate that though there is a slight easing of anxieties over the economy, the public in general does not believe that the recession has ended, and sees the road ahead as mostly uphill, possibly with even more severe economic measures ahead. Confidence over price stability is not strong, and fear of unemployment is still substantial. On all other issues, the majority was not so supportive of government policy. Between 40-43 per cent felt that the government was dealing

well with strikes (before the nurses' strike), solving housing problems and helping the poor. According to 41 per cent, the government was quite successful in reducing the education gap; similarly, the economic gap - 30 per cent, and the social gap - 28 per cent.

On five items the government's success rating was especially low, 16-25 per cent seeing the government as mainly successful and 66-81 per cent seeing the government as unsuccessful. These included: im-

proving work morale, collecting rightful taxes, preventing corruption, dealing with crime and drugs and - at the bottom - dealing with the religious-secular dispute. These are central social issues, and the answers received perhaps explain why the government continues to receive such low marks for its general performance in the social area.

In general, supporters of the Likud and of Labour, and their affiliated parties, took similar views on all issues. On the economic items, Labour supporters tended to be

more optimistic than others, but on the vast majority of sensitive issues, such as education, economic and social gaps, there were striking similarities between all the responses.

Differences occur when the attempt is made to attach responsibility to a given party. When asked which party has greater influence on economic policy, a majority of Labour supporters (51 per cent) gave Labour as their answer, 32 per cent responded that Labour and Likud had equal influence and only 2 per cent that the Likud had the greater influence. Among Likud supporters, 26 per cent thought that Labour was more influential, 43 per cent that the two main parties were on a par, and 18 per cent that the Likud had the greater influence.

The overall picture here is that although most key economic ministers come from Likud ranks, Labour is seen as the relatively stronger force in determining economic policy.

But to gauge the real differences between supporters of the main parties and their camps, one must turn from economic and social areas to issues concerning: reactions to Arabs, settlements in the West Bank, and concessions for peace.

SMITH POLL

Hava Ya'ari on the stand, her hands tell the story

By YORAM GAZIT For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. - It is unusual for the accused in a murder trial to attract sympathy, but Hava Ya'ari clearly did so yesterday at the District Court here in the Mala Malavski murder trial.

Ya'ari, dressed in a floral suit, her blonde hair braided with a red ribbon, looked exhausted and vulnerable and she talked like a person with nothing to lose.

From the witness stand at the end of her testimony, her words rang out firmly: "I'm innocent of murder and what I've said today is the truth. I've nothing to lose, and I don't mind paying for what I have done; all I care about is that the mother of my children won't be called a murderer."

Ya'ari testified earlier that Malavski had fallen out of her car while fighting with Aviva Granot, who is accused with Ya'ari in the case.

Ya'ari explained that she had wanted to take Malavski to the hospital and report the incident to the police, but Granot had told her that Malavski was dead and all that they could do was to flee the scene.

The Hava Ya'ari presented to the court yesterday is a warm, dependent person, who all her life wanted only to please the people whom she cared for.

Ya'ari's hands, constantly moving during her testimony yesterday as she gripped or stroked the wooden witness stand, seemed to betray her

urgent need for contact and reassurance.

They appeared to expose her need to cling to something or somebody. Yesterday it was the witness stand, at other times of her life, it was her father; later it was her husband Ehud. Then came Granot, at one time her closest friend, who replaced Ehud; and eventually the head of the investigation team Michel Hadad.

Ya'ari's attorneys, Edna Kaplan and Dror Mekrin, are going to use her "dependency trait" as their line of defence, in an attempt to show that her dependence on Granot led her to conceal Malavski's death.

She told the court how she had begged Hadad to give her a lie detector test, since then she would have to tell the truth. The lie detector thus would release her from her promise to Granot not to implicate her. But Granot eventually testified against her.

Leaving now on Hadad, Ya'ari began to do things which are apparently against her own good, signing a confession after being instructed by her attorneys not to do so.

Ya'ari told the court that at one point she even considered firing her attorneys and replacing them with someone whom Hadad had proposed. "I wanted Hadad to represent me in court, but he could not," Ya'ari said.

Asked by a judge how she could trust Hadad, Ya'ari said: "I trusted him. For me he was not a policeman. That's the way I am. What can I do?"



Prime Minister Peres, in the driver's seat of a motor-buggy used by elderly people on many kibbutzim, gets instructions before taking a test drive at the Agrotech 86 exhibition yesterday. (Ippa)

Otello's star to become HU fellow at gala premiere

By BERNARD JOSEPHS Jerusalem Post Reporter

Opera star Placido Domingo, who started his career singing for the Israel National Opera in 1962 for 1,000 lira a month, is to become an honorary fellow of the Hebrew University on Monday, when he attends a gala Jerusalem premiere of his film *Otello*.

The film's director, Franco Zeffirelli, will be honoured together with Domingo.

The two are the stars of an evening billed as a major fundraising effort by the financially-strapped university. All the money from the NIS

75-per-cent showing of the film at the Jerusalem Theatre will go to a scholarship fund set up by Israeli movie moguls Menahem Golan and Yoram Globes, producers of *Otello*.

For the Mexican-raised Domingo, it will be a second visit to Israel this summer. He starred in July's Yarkon Park outdoor concert in aid of the child victims of Mexico's earthquake disaster in September 1985.

Otello is the second film Zeffirelli has made of a Verdi opera. The first was *La Traviata*. He describes Golan and Globes as "exciting" and prepared to "defy stupid conventions."

Soviet Jews' prayer books work of former U.S. Army 'mohel'

By HAIM SHAPIRO-Jerusalem Post Reporter

This Rosh Hashana several dozen Jews in the Soviet Union will be praying with a new High Holiday prayerbook, complete with Russian translation. But the man responsible for it all will not be there to see it. He last left Russia with *persona non grata* stamped in his passport and a prison sentence hanging over his head.

For Rabbi Zvi Bronstein, the new *mahzor* is just one of a series of activities on behalf of Soviet Jewry, activities that included smuggling out a priceless Hebrew manuscript, and it all started because he was a good mohel.

A quiet, almost self-effacing person, Bronstein explained that as a chaplain with the U.S. army, he was called upon to perform the circumcision for the son of a Jewish army doctor. One of the non-Jewish medical top brass present was so impressed by Bronstein's technique, that the rabbi was sent for a special military course in circumcision.

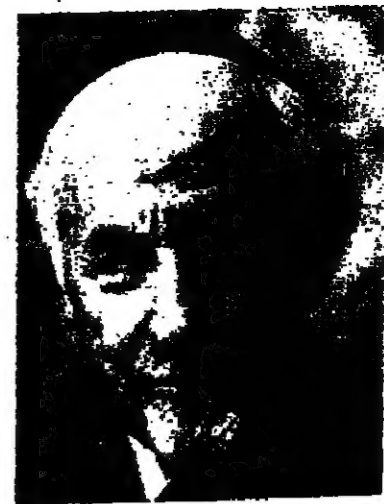
It was this course, and his subsequent service during which he circumcised thousands of American soldiers, that earned him a special reputation as an expert in adult circumcision.

Then, in 1958, the Soviets repatriated some 200,000 Poles, including about 20,000 Jews. Hardly any had been circumcised, and Agudat Yisrael, of which Bronstein was a leading member, sent him to Poland.

In the four weeks he spent there, Bronstein performed hundreds of operations, sometimes up to 30 a day. He also trained four assistants to carry on his work, and was then invited by late rabbi Leib Levin of Moscow to train the 18 students of the local yeshiva.

During his three trips, he travelled the length and breadth of the Soviet Union and he began to know the *shveta* (religious revival) movement in the USSR. "I left the old people in the *shveta*, they were all cooperating with the government anyway, and I began to go to the young men."

By 1965, there were 27 underground cells of religious Jews, all



Rabbi Zvi Bronstein. (Faye Ellman)

over Russia. He maintained contact and provided them with religious articles "through the diplomatic pouches of a number of countries, friendly and unfriendly."

Bronstein is unwilling to say more than that about the way he gets material into the USSR. His work continues and he does not want to endanger it.

But in one matter he had great difficulty. He was anxious to see Rabbi Isaac Krasilschikov, the *gaon* of Paltova, the second largest city in the Ukraine. But Paltova was closed to foreigners. Finally, Bronstein had his chance. Krasilschikov was critically ill in a Moscow hospital.

Bronstein went to the hospital and, just 14 hours before the great rabbi died, received from him the second part of a commentary on the Rambam.

Bronstein also learned where Krasilschikov had hidden the great work of his life, a complete commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, for which there had hitherto never been an authoritative commentary. Completing the work, Krasilschikov told him, had been his way of compensating for being unable to come to Israel.

"Now that we have a country," the dying rabbi said, "it is essential to have the Jerusalem Talmud, which deals with many of the *mitzvot* of the Land of Israel." It took over

13 years to smuggle the massive manuscript out of Russia.

During his ninth visit to the USSR, Bronstein was arrested on June 5, 1967, the day before the Six Day War broke out. He was interrogated and tortured for eight days. "They broke my nose and pulled out my fingernails," he said.

"I am sorry to say," he added, "that it was a man who I had trained who informed on me." Bronstein was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment; 10 years for smuggling Hebrew literature out of the USSR, 10 years for bringing material in, and five years for practising medicine without a licence.

Ironically, what perhaps saved him was a massive heart attack he suffered in confinement. The Russians treated him and then shipped him out of the country to Czechoslovakia. In Prague, it was the chance appearance of someone who he believes was a Jewish doctor which helped him get on a plane to London.

Now, though he may no longer visit the USSR, he continues the work on behalf of Soviet Jews through a group which he calls Al Tidom. (Dare not to be silent). Four years ago he organized the printing of a *siddur* (complete prayer book) with a new Russian translation.

It was the first since the printing of the so-called *Siddur Hashalom* by the Soviet government in 1959, a reproduction of an archaic Russian translation from the czarist period. Using the methods that he will not describe, Bronstein has had the prayer books taken into the Soviet Union.

The *mahzor*, which took two years to prepare, under the direction of Nathan Feingold, a new immigrant from the USSR, has only recently been printed. The first 2,000 volumes printed for Israel and America have already been snapped up.

Of the 2,000 volumes intended for the Soviet Union, Bronstein estimates that about 50 have so far found their destination. But he is confident that by next year all of them will be in the right hands.

Tel Aviv - in search of a style

There are a few of them about, these quasi-gallery, quasi-shop, quasi-workshop places where they make Tel Aviv, selling ideas of what life in this city is like when it's turned into wood and metal and glass and fabric.

In Neve Zedek they call it the "Design Centre." Serious money went into it so serious that it fitted the value of property along Rehov Alroy by many percentage points.

Zev Sokolowski, his wife Diane, and their partner Alain Ben-Chenouli tore apart one of the old Neve Zedek buildings and put up a brand new old Neve Zedek building. Practically nothing of the original building remains, yet everything is original. Wooden beams and Motza roof tiles, and the whitewashed-on whitewashed bare walls except for a hanging or two: the furniture is displayed as if it were in a museum.

Next door the neighbours hang laundry off the balcony. Inside the Design Centre on 10 Alroy, there is no laundry.

The styling is so clean, the lines so strong, it's like a world without laundry. The air conditioning is so powerful on a hot day that some of the windows become fogged, dripping with condensation, distorting the sunlight into tiny rainbows that no designer could plan.

In the Dizengoff Centre, of all places, next door to the Porsche place, where sleek helmets and sunglasses are on sale, there's a shop called Kav. Plastic-coated wire, shaped into desk devices and kids' furniture, kitchen-wall hangers and straight-lined colourful plastic cups

good for long cool drinks.

On Rehov Shenkin, there's Cactus, a shop displaying the wares of seven designers. One makes clocks and another ceramics. One designs fabrics and another uses stringy plastic for jewelry. Somebody makes brooches from balsa wood. There's an elegant clock atop a concrete building block.

And across the street from Habima, there's One and One, which offers furniture such as low slung marble coffee tables made of marble on raw steel legs; wheeled ashtrays and foam rubber sofa suites wrapped in fantastically coloured fabrics.

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

In the furniture district, there's a place called Kastiel, and there's Tolman's, started by Tamara Tolman, who left Danish a while back to open her own store.

They all have in common a hope for something called Israeli design, meaning Tel Aviv design. Even when they import the plans for something made in Italy or France. For as each of these designers goes out into the world to look at what's going on, they bring back the same ideas, the same materials, the same vision of what could and should be made here.

Not the imitation Scandinavian kibbutz furniture. Not the bulky Middle Eastern naivety of gilded plaster and overstuffed chairs. Not the stuff you see in Holon or Gilo or any place named Kiryat something. Not wall cupboards and pictures of dancing Hassidim, not closets held together by plastic *chupchikin*, not anything brown.

The materials are plastic and glass, metal and concrete - one designer made stone floor tiles from concrete sidewalk tiles, but had them polished down to a pure and neutral grey - and marble, carefully prepared wood - but not too much, for how much wood is there here? - and fabrics painted with dashes of colour - for Tel Aviv is a city of dashes, which interrupt the blandness of greys made white by light too strong for the eyes.

Colours are strong. Bright shiny reds and yellows, blues and greens and stiff matt blacks. Tambour's Superlat seems to be the favourite for anything handpainted.

And everything is unique, unless deliberately factory-fashioned. Everything is designed, and when produced, time is spent on the finish, on making it right.

The peeling plaster and exposed rusted water pipes of Tel Aviv are nowhere to be found inside these small and not-so-small places. But the plaster and rust, the sand and concrete, the Art Deco and Bauhaus and Turkish roots of Tel Aviv are all there, exposed, utilitarian and sculptural, as so much of Tel Aviv. It's not just taste or snobism or elitism or fashion. It's the shapes of Tel Aviv.

'Syria spends \$3b. annually to liberate the Golan Heights'

Post Middle East Staff DAMASCUS. - Mustapha Tias, the Syrian Defence Minister, told the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* that Syria is spending \$3 billion annually to "liberate the Golan Heights."

His comments were published this week by *Der Spiegel* and reported by Radio Monte Carlo.

Tias added that the Syrian army currently numbers 500,000 soldiers in addition to another 500,000 reserve military men. Tias added that this would enable Syria to confront any American attack.

Tias stressed that Syria is capable of reaching any U.S. target in the region. And he said that Syria did not need Soviet soldiers to defend

her, but only required aid in the form of arms. Tias said that any U.S. attack on Syria would bring different results than the American "aggression" on Libya - "and Washington knows that very well."

CORRECTION

A printing error caused the omission of a line in yesterday's article on the Israel Atlas. Prof. Amiram's remarks should have read: "In extreme instances, (Gush Emunim) even settled in Arab cities like Hebron and there were even attempts to settle in Nabulus."

Court rejects petition on anti-Arab posters

The High Court of Justice on Wednesday turned down a petition from the *Maagal Ha-leumi* (Nationalist Circle) movement to be allowed to display posters.

The posters warn that the birth-rate among Arabs endangers the Jewish state.

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The course is to be held on the following dates: 17, 18, 19 February 1987 - reserved exclusively for Doctors of Medicine.

15, 16, 17 February 1987 - reserved for the Paramedical professions, Physiotherapists, etc.

The Course will be given in French and translated by interpreter into Hebrew. A Certificate of Participation will be given to each Course participant.

Since the course is being organized under the auspices of foreign companies, the number of places will be limited. The last date for registration will be 1 December 1986. (When requesting information, please indicate your field of specialisation.)

All information about the Course and registration will be sent to you on request to: Favel-Shulman, 5, Rehov Ezzel, Ramat-Gan 52284 Tel: 03-766581

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for the Purchase of Real Estate (Flats)

The following flats at 6 Rehov Menora, Jerusalem (Block 30103, parcels 2, 3) are offered for sale:

1. A 3 room flat, 105 sq.m. net, ground floor, adjacent garden of 67 sq.m., valued by a licensed valuer at \$95,000
2. A 2 room flat of 83 sq.m. net, ground floor, valued by a licensed valuer at \$48,400.
3. A 2 room flat, 48 sq.m. net, 2nd floor, valued by a licensed valuer at \$54,200.

Purchasers will not acquire any building rights as a result of the purchase.

Bids, which should not be less than valuer's figures, should be submitted to the offices of the undersigned, together with a banker's cheque for 10% of the bid total, in a sealed envelope marked "Tender", not later than October 20, 1986. To obtain further details and arrange a visit to view, please contact Mr. Musak.

No undertaking is given to accept the highest or any bid.

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Roy Isacowitz on the maneuvering of Orthodox groups to revive their waning influence

The power game and the religious parties



Avraham Shapira... "director-general of the country."

ONE EVENING in May 1977, while Likud leader Menachem Begin was in the process of putting together a government, the heads of Agudat Yisrael and of the National Religious Party's Young Guard faction met at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv.

The meeting had been requested by the Aguda's Avraham Shapira and Menachem Porush, who were hesitating over whether to join a Likud-led coalition. Their interlocutors, MKs Ze'evulun Hammer and Yehuda Ben-Meir were adamant: the time had come for a change; they were going with the Likud.

The determination of the Young Guard persuaded not only the Aguda, but also NRP leader Yosef Burg, who had originally been hesitant to cut the party's traditional link with the Labour Movement. Shortly afterwards, Begin established his coalition government, bringing to an end 29 years of uninterrupted Labour rule.

The religious parties had a heyday in 1977. The NRP had been returned to the Knesset with 12 seats, its largest complement ever, while the non-Zionist Aguda had picked up four seats and Poalei Agudat Yisrael two. Begin himself was favourably disposed on religious issues and the religious parties, for the first time were indispensable coalition partners.

The influence of the religious parties was at its height. Choice pieces of religious legislation were now on the national agenda and the party Avraham Shapira became the self-styled "director-general of the country."

Ironically, it was also the beginning of the decline. By the time the 1981 elections came around, Avraham Shapira had split from the NRP to establish Tami and the mother party was in disarray. The NRP had its representation cut by half to six seats that year, with Tami picking up three seats and Aguda retaining its previous four. Total religious representation declined from 18 to 13 seats.

The 1984 elections were even more disastrous for the established religious parties. The NRP split again when MK Haim Druckman established Matzad, the Aguda's Sephardi component established Shas and Abuhatzra's party virtually disappeared from the scene. The elections resulted were: four seats for the NRP, two for Morasha (Matzad plus Poalei Agudat Yisrael), two for the Aguda, four Shas and one for Tami.

The meeting in the Dan Hotel was something of a turning point for the religious parties. With the political scene in ferment over the success of the Democratic Movement for Change and the electorate's rejection of Labour, the NRP and the Aguda decided to take the plunge. The former cut its umbilical cord to Labour for the greater ideological compatibility and political influence offered by the Likud, while the latter forsook the cloisters for the profits of coalition politics.

IDEOLOGICALLY and materially they did well out of the deal. Settlement, the *idee fixe* of the NRP Young Guard, surged ahead and the Aguda's yeshivah did not go wanting for state subsidy.

But influence at the top did not prevent internal disintegration. Both the NRP and the Aguda were torn by ethnic tensions, leading in due course to the establishment of Tami and Shas. The Young Guard's campaign to break the power of Burg's Lamifne faction virtually crippled the party's day-to-day functioning, while bitter (if esoteric) sectarian infighting reduced the Aguda to a shambles. In the days before the 1984 elections, Porush found himself set upon by a gang of rival thugs.

The changes in the religious balance of power mirrored the general realignment of political forces. The Labour Alignment lost its hegemony in 1977 and, by 1981, Israeli politics had, in effect, become a two-party system. Similarly, the NRP lost its dominance over religious politics in 1981 and today the religious electorate is fairly evenly divided between nationalists and ultra-Orthodox.

Like the macro political scene, the religious arena was affected by the growing

independence of the electorate (or its reduced dependence on past political masters), the trend towards ethnic voting and the polarization over settlement and the Land of Israel.

Along with Labour, the NRP was perceived as being part of the Ashkenazi establishment. When the backlash came in 1981, Abuhatzra siphoned off sufficient Sephardi votes to win three seats. Similarly, the success of Shas in the 1984 elections is attributable to a Sephardi reaction to the ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi establishment, though personal and sectarian factors also in paying lip-service.

In addition, the NRP has consistently lost voters to the Likud, which, though not an ethnic party per se, is perceived as the champion of the underprivileged against the Ashkenazi elite.

NRP leaders reject the contention that the party's settlement zeal was part of the problem, though they concede that the party did lose votes to Tami. Observers on the left argue that by offering a "watered down version" of Tami, the NRP tempted its voters to go for the real thing.

What is undeniable is that the overall religious camp lost almost one-third of its strength between 1977 and 1984, at a time when its influence was greatest. Despite the Aguda-Shas split, the ultra-Orthodox sector has retained its strength and possibly even increased it. But the nationalist religious sector has lost support to a variety of parties, both religious and secular.

PICKING sides is not simple, particularly when the sides are evenly matched and elections have to be held every four years. The religious parties have significant leverage in the threat to withhold their support

from either of the major parties, but they always run the risks of over-playing their hand. A partnership with the wrong party could mean being deprived of influence altogether.

As a result, the religious parties have become avid fence-sitters, always threatening to take sides but seldom actually doing so. When the national unity government was finally established after the 1984 elections, the NRP played the role so well it managed to join the government as an independent faction, linked to neither Labour nor the Likud.

Religious influence has declined under the unity government. With a majority of close to 100 seats in the Knesset, neither of the major parties has to make much allowance for religious demands, though Labour, in particular, has been diligent about paying lip-service.

Waning influence necessitated new measures, one of which was the attempt to revitalize the religious lobby. Opinions are mixed as to how successful the attempt has been. The Aguda's Porush believes that the religious parties have cooperated well over the past two years and that the cooperation will increase.

The NRP's Yehuda Ben-Meir, a psychologist by profession, believes otherwise. Reality has conformed with the theory that strong forces stay united and weaker forces tend to split, he says, giving as an example the dispute between the NRP and Shas over the religious affairs ministry. At the most, he says, the religious parties will continue to cooperate on an ad hoc basis, in the same way as the NRP cooperates with other parties.

In fact, there is little love lost between

the ultra-Orthodox community and the nationalist religious camp. The orthodox they have in common has proved far less potent than the antipathy of the nationalists to what they see as the military shirking and extortion of the Aguda's electorate.

The ultra-Orthodox live self-enclosed lives and have little contact with mainstream Israel. The secular backlash to the recent haredi muscle-flexing is felt, ironically, not by the ultra-Orthodox but by the increasingly resentful national religious camp.

Nationalist and ultra-Orthodox will continue to cooperate on matters of mutual concern. But it is highly doubtful whether they will establish a cohesive religious lobby to regain their lost influence. The major parties will continue to deal with them individually, playing them — and being played by them — against each other.

Only time will indicate the success of the attempt to rejuvenate the NRP. What is clear, however, is that the party will never be the same. The power of the establishment Lamifne faction has been broken and new, non-aligned faces have appeared in the upper ranks.

It will also take time to prove the accuracy of the current wisdom that the party's policies will be determined by the tightly-knit Matzad cohorts, who rejoined the NRP after their abortive Morasha experience.

Certainly, a recent speech by Ze'evulun Hammer, the party's minister-designate, to a Matzad gathering gave every indication that the new NRP will be Tehiya with a kipa. But the results of last week's elections to the NRP political bureau appeared to give the lie to the estimations of Matzad's strength. The ultra-nationalist Matzad won only one seat on the 21-person bureau, as opposed to nine for the Young Guard and five for Lamifne. (The other places went to the moshavim, kibbutzim, women, the faction of MK Avner Shalev, Mercaz Harav yeshiva and an independent.)

Young Guard insiders say that the nationalist fervour of the past few years is on the wane; that, even with the re-entry of Matzad, the NRP is moving back towards the political centre. Not that Labour can count on Hammer's support in post-rotation cabinet votes on new settlements. But not would the Likud be able to count on the NRP if it ever came to the imposition of sovereignty over the West Bank and

Gaza or another military adventure of the Lebanon variety.

THE NRP's imperative is to reorganize and consolidate under its new leadership. Over 90,000 voters participated in the elections for the party's recent convention. The goal now is eight seats in the next elections.

The Aguda, too, is in the throes of reconciliation, though the moves and likely results remain murky. Several months ago, a delegation of world Aguda leaders came to Israel in an attempt to settle the differences between the Hasedim led by Shapira and the opposing *mitnagdim* forces of Porush and former MK Shlomo Lorincz.

Porush says that the reconciliation has been successful and that the party will soon launch a process of reorganization, including the reassignment of party positions. He and Shapira are once again "excellent friends," he says.

The reconciliation efforts peaked this week with a 90-second meeting between Rabbi Eliezer Shach, former head of the Council of Torah Sages, and the Admor of Gur Rabbi Simcha Bunim Alter. If the two sages, who had not spoken for over two years, do indeed resolve their differences, the ultra-Orthodox balance of forces could be radically altered.

Rabbi Shach is the spiritual father of Shas, the party to which he gave his blessing after a falling-out with the council of sages. Of the four seats won by Shas in the last elections, one and possibly two were thanks to the support of Ashkenazi Aguda voters who moved over with Shach.

SHAS HAS little grass-roots organization and no traditional loyalty among voters. It could simply fade away in the face of reconciliation in the Aguda and the rejuvenation of the NRP. Tami and Shas may yet prove that while Israeli voters tend to vote along ethnic lines they do not support upstart ethnic parties for very long.

When the next elections come along, the NRP will be looking to the Likud, Tehiya and, to a lesser extent, Shas and Tami to pick up its lost support. The Aguda will also have its sights on Shas and the lone Poalei Aguda seat. Labour may not have much support among the religious public, but at least it does not have to worry about competition from the religious parties. That action is all on the centre-right or in the heart of Bnei Brak and Jerusalem.

Nobody's 'yes man'

Political Correspondent Sarah Honig interviews the National Religious Party's minister-designate, Ze'evulun Hammer, who rejects charges that he is extremist



Ze'evulun Hammer (Oded Stopnitsky)

to disqualify representatives of another party. After all, I was elected by a nearly two-thirds majority of the most democratic, representative and authentic convention the NRP has ever known. This is nothing to scoff at.

"And yet these people decide that they can determine what is good and what is bad. They decide that Dr. Burg is a moderate and that I am an extremist. They know they are distorting the truth.

"If they are right, why did the Likud not disqualify Dr. Burg for pro-Labour leanings? But they did not utter any such nonsense. The Likud knows the NRP is in no one's pocket and Labour should not treat us as a political colony either.

Hammer says the furor over his election puzzles him. "After all, I am no newcomer to politics. I can only protest against the unfair attempt to categorize and label me. How do certain people in Labour know in advance how Dr. Burg or how I would vote on given issues? It is preposterous if Labour assumes it can dictate things. The NRP is no

one's satellite party." Burg's own record in the cabinet, Hammer argues, was not one of a Labour yes-man. Most recently he voted against a Labour proposal for the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the Shin Bet affair. He was a very senior minister in Likud governments and was accorded a stature which NRP ministers did not get under Labour.

"I would have voted for the pull-out from Lebanon just as he did, and he would support the establishment of new settlements and oppose disbanding settlements, just as I would. We both represent NRP policy, albeit with a different temperament and personality," Hammer says.

But he is also amused. "I think there is unfortunately a lot of exaggeration about the danger I pose. The NRP has only one representative in the government of 25 ministers and no representation in the inner cabinet. I wish we had greater power, but as is, we are not so great a menace."

In Labour it is argued that the

coalition agreement was made with the NRP, but that in many senses the party no longer exists. Few may have noticed, but the party's official name was even changed during the recent convention to the National Religious Movement (Tadai instead of Matzad).

This is a new political creature, it is said in Labour, in which the Matzad faction is especially powerful. Matzad supported Hammer's candidacy, and he is in the debt of this maximalist segment of the erstwhile Morasha list, the Labour opinion goes.

Hammer, however, points to the fact that he was not Matzad's instant darling. There were plenty of speeches at the convention against his attitude to the Lebanon War and to the Camp David accords. There was even some talk about vetoing his election. Hammer finally won Matzad over, perhaps because he was deemed better than his Lamifne opponent, but in the internal NRP configuration many see him as too dovish.

Has the NRP really shifted right-

ward? Hammer finds the talk of a "takeover by Matzad" ridiculous. The NRP is happy to welcome Matzad back to the fold. It is a flesh of our flesh and separated from us only, very briefly. We want to reflect the full variety of religious Zionism and not just a narrow band. That's why Matzad, and all the beautiful things it represents, must be in the party, as well as all the other groups who lent me their support."

Hammer feels that the Labour reaction to some extent stems from the fact that "a new younger generation has taken over in the NRP — a generation of native-born Israelis with broad interests and opinions on national affairs, foreign policy and defence.

"Gone are the days when NRP functionaries seemed to compromise all principles to secure religious services. For these, they felt, they must always be in the coalition, and since the one ruling party was Labour, they must always be in its orbit. The change in the NRP perhaps reflects the change in the nation.

"Perhaps Labour feels that the

last internal NRP elections clinch the trend away from the "historic partnership" with what was the single party of power. Labour's behaviour now will determine whether we can cooperate again. If they try to dictate to us, it will indicate that the lessons of the past were not learned."

Hammer insists he is not the only one wronged. "The categorizations are also doing an injustice to Dr. Burg by intimating that he was their man. The NRP in any case has not gone out of business. The fact that it has symbolically changed its name from Party to Movement, has not altered its essence. Would Dr. Burg in the Tadai have been kosher?"

HAMMER SAYS that "God and the convention have given me a chance to forge a new NRP and I hope I'll be up to the test. Our party plunged from 12 MKs in 1977 to six in 1981 and to four in 1984. Internal disharmony, alienation, the rule of the party machine and the generation gap, all contributed to this. I felt an important party was going under. Those were years of personal distress and agony for me," Hammer confesses.

"On the face of it, it appeared that I was part of the leadership but I had no real political or organizational influence. Some portrayed me as bearing responsibility for the party's failure, while in effect I was seeking to rehabilitate it. I wanted to see if the NRP's public gives me its confidence. This is what now happened. I strove for open, free and unrivaled elections in this party. I am glad but at the fact that I won so much confidence."

Hammer describes what hap-

pened at the NRP convention as "a real earthquake in that the formidable party machine is no longer in control. I am not saying the malignant factionalism is eradicated completely. Only time will tell, and there will be no overnight revolution but a slow evolution. Elections are now held by secret ballot, and though a candidate naturally needs group support, it is no longer enough for a few functionaries to fix things in back rooms."

Hammer refuses to say much about the Religious Affairs Ministry before he takes his post there. But he does ask "God for the wisdom and spiritual resources to build bridges between so-called secular and religious Jews."

"There is too much animosity and generalization. There is much variety and nuances on both sides, but we tend to see and judge only the extremes. I would like to see the common denominator of a modern Jewish culture we can all live with. We did not come to this country to escape Judaism, but there must be no coercion."

Does he think he will be minister for long? Will the national unity government, in whose creation the NRP played so crucial a role, survive long after rotation? Hammer thinks "It ought to — at least for reasons of political decency and fair play. Premature elections would be bad for the nation. The next two years, though, will be more difficult and tense than the first. I will be happy if this government lasts, but I honestly don't know if it will." The new minister-designate sighs.

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Amal soldiers on parade.



(AFP) Shi'ite fundamentalists in Sidon.

(Reuter)

The Amal option in Lebanon

Arab affairs analyst Clinton Bailey argues that there is a blind spot in Israel's policy on South Lebanon. He urges a new approach. Elaine Fletcher and Yehuda Litani report.

ISRAEL SHOULD bolster an alliance between South Lebanon's Unifil force and the Shi'ite Amal movement as a barrier to further gains by the extremist Shi'ite Hizbollah militia, according to Dr. Clinton Bailey.

The Tel Aviv University Arab affairs analyst asserts that Israel's failure to come to some sort of understanding with the region's large Shi'ite population has helped encourage the rise of Hizbollah extremism.

Bailey, a former adviser to the Defence Ministry on the Shi'ites, has warned for several years of the dangers that Shi'ite radicalism pose to southern stability. He has also been a longtime advocate of making the Shi'ites, rather than the Christian-dominated South Lebanon Army (SLA), a cornerstone of Israeli security policy in the south.

His views are diametrically opposed to current official policy, guided by Uri Lubrani, the Defence Ministry's coordinator for South Lebanon.

And as tension rises on the Israeli-Lebanese border amid a new cycle of radical Shi'ite attacks on Unifil, Bailey believes his off-repeated, but never-tested, theory has new relevance. In the face of a possible Unifil pullout, Hizbollah's ability to upset the delicate southern status quo has become more real and sinister.

The Shi'ites of Hizbollah, unlike the larger and more moderate Amal Shi'ite movement, want to turn Southern Lebanon into a "staging ground" for "Jihad" against Israel, regardless of the price, warns Bailey.

Hizbollah and Amal represent "two opposing views of Shi'ite wel-

fare and the Shi'ite future," he explains.

Amal, which began in 1975, represents stability and the desire of the historically deprived Shi'ite population to build itself economically, free of the fetters of PLO dominance that tied them before, he believes. Were stability to be more assured, money would flow into South Lebanon's Shi'ite communities from wealthy Shi'ite emigres all over the world — not just for arms but for development, Bailey asserts.

"[Amal Chief] Nabih Berri was born in Sierra Leone," Bailey notes, adding, "there's a lot of wealth in the Shi'ite community waiting to be reinvested in the south."

He points out that many of the 250,000 Shi'ites who fled South Lebanon between 1968 and 1982 have since returned.

"Their expectation now was that without the PLO, there would be some kind of accommodation with Israel, and they would be able to build themselves up," he says.

BORN IN 1982 of the fallout from the Iranian revolution and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Hizbollah is a newer, and angrier movement than Amal.

Amal has worked along more traditional Lebanese political lines seeking a larger role for Shi'ites in a secular multi-confessional state. But Hizbollah, as its name meaning Party of God implies, embraces a more apocalyptic vision, says Bailey.

"Hizbollah, being totally committed to the Khomeini vision of the world, is dedicated to making Lebanon a Moslem state and Southern Lebanon into a base for Jihad against Israel, and is willing to sacrifice well-being and progress for that vision," Bailey says.

While Amal leaders generally want Unifil to remain as a buffer between themselves and Israel, Hizbollah sees Unifil as an obstacle to carrying its holy war into Israeli territory.

While Amal leaders have expressed vociferous anti-PLO sentiments asserting that "never again" will the PLO run Southern Lebanon, Hizbollah has found itself more allied with the aims of the organization.

It also receives support from a breakaway faction of Amal, the Islamic Amal Militia, headed by Hussein Musawi. Musawi, a former Amal deputy, quit Amal when it agreed to set up a joint committee for ending the Israeli occupation, a move which he viewed as treason.

Hizbollah evolved primarily out of a Shi'ite student organization headed by Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, with a stronghold in Baalbek near the Shouf Mountains.

Bailey says that in South Lebanon, two main focuses for Hizbollah activity exist. Those are the villages to the south and south-west of Nabatieh, and the Abissieh-Marrakeh area just north-east of Tyre. In both places, the pro-Iranian leanings of local Islamic religious leaders made villages natural breeding grounds for radical Shi'ite activity, Bailey says.

Fighting between Hizbollah and Amal brought Marrakeh into the news earlier this summer, when some Syrian troops deployed there to bolster Amal.

Meanwhile, Bailey says, Iran's hostility to France — which supports Israel's Gulf War enemy, Iraq — explains some of the logic behind recent attacks on French Unifil forces, in which four French soldiers have died.

BUT EVEN with Hizbollah's recent prominence, Amal continues to

have a far better organization overall in the south, Bailey asserts.

"There are not many villages where Amal does not have a presence...in most cases, Amal has the best people, the most reliable. They have intelligence. I think it [Amal-Unifil] is a very good combination. You have to give it a chance."

While much of Lebanon's traditional Shi'ite religious establishment is behind Amal, Hizbollah's money — like its religious authority — comes primarily from Teheran, says Bailey. He believes obtaining funds is thus easier for Hizbollah than Amal. Hizbollah can rely on a foreign government allocation in contrast to Amal, which must depend on contributions from emigres.

After an initial flirtation with Hizbollah, Syria has become Amal's main benefactor.

The April, 1983 car bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, and the November 1983 suicide raid on the military government headquarters in Tyre were the gruesome consequences of the initial cooperation between Syria and Hizbollah or its extremist allies, says Bailey.

"Amal people were against this whole business," he asserts. "Amal didn't even attack Israeli soldiers for two years."

Syria switched its alliance to Amal after discovering that the Hizbollah beast was becoming uncontrollable, he adds.

Still, Amal's primary goal in the south is strikingly similar to Israel's, says Bailey: to prevent the PLO from re-establishing any kind of foothold that could allow the organization to dominate the local Shi'ite population as it did prior to the Israeli invasion.

"There is no love lost between the Shi'ites and Damascus," Bailey notes. "But in order to stop the PLO from coming into the south, Amal needs Syrian backing. As Shi'ites they cannot be the only force in the Arab world fighting the PLO."

Partly in exchange for Syrian support — and partly from the bitter experience with Israel's occupation —

Amal has remained opposed to any overt cooperation with the IDF.

"Syria's support for Amal stems from the fact that Syria would like to see Israeli presence removed from Lebanon," Bailey says.

SEEN IN this context, Amal's own war against the Israeli-backed security zone is part and parcel of its fight against the PLO, Bailey added.

"Amal will fight us because it is the only way they can fight the Palestinians — to keep the PLO from coming back," he said.

"Amal is so fed up with the whole Palestinian issue. The Shi'ites were the lowest people on the Lebanese social rung until the refugees came from Palestine," Bailey recalls. "They took over the place, pushed people around, caused destruction. Now the Shi'ites hate the Palestinians. The only people they deal with are the anti-Arafat people and that is only to keep Syria quiet."

Even now, Amal serves as an anti-PLO buffer in the south.

"Every single day there are [PLO-Amal] clashes — things we never hear about," said Bailey. "Amal keeps them [the PLO] locked in their camps. There are roadblocks all around the Palestinians and they cannot go anywhere."

"Only near Sidon, has the PLO been able to expand and make a link between [Palestinian camps] Mia Mia and Ein Hilweh because of a break in linkage between the Christians," notes Bailey.

But Israel has never properly exploited Amal's anti-PLO sentiment, says Bailey, because Amal won't openly cooperate with Israel or with the SLA.

Bailey sees this as a serious blind spot in Israeli official policy, guided more by Israeli prejudices and emotionalism than by shrewd reasoning. "We have not given seriously the Amal-Unifil options a chance to develop," he says. "This is the result of a lot of arrogance, a lot of vested interest by people who have set up the security zone."

"I don't suggest that we pull out tomorrow, but we should encourage

Unifil to work something out with Amal." He warns that if an effective alliance is not forged, Unifil may be forced to pull out.

"Unifil's demise is liable to expedite or effect Israel's return to southern Lebanon," Bailey says. "If Unifil goes, there will be a total breakdown because Amal does not have the manpower to keep the PLO and Hizbollah from walking all over the place."

"Unifil is an obstacle to Hizbollah's operating against Israel. Hizbollah would like a total breakdown, because when there isn't a total breakdown people go about their daily business."

BAILEY CONCEDES that the Amal-Hizbollah distinction, like everything else in Lebanon, is not black and white. Individual Amal and Hizbollah fighters may cooperate in raids on their common opponent, the SLA.

There is some anti-Unifil sentiment among certain Amal extremists. For instance, the Shi'ite leader killed during a mid-August run-in at a French Unifil checkpoint was a well-known Amal extremist, Haidar Khalil. The killing sparked a round of French-Amal clashes before they negotiated a truce.

But Amal's overriding positive stand on Unifil, and its anti-PLO sentiments, have been underlined repeatedly in public forums such as last week's pro-Unifil rally attended by 50,000 Shi'ites in Tyre.

There, Amal's regional military commander Daoud Daoud threatened to "chop off the hands and cut off the heads" of any Hizbollah fighters carrying out attacks on Unifil.

Israel, along with promoting more Unifil-Amal cooperation, also should recognize the limitations of the Christian-dominated SLA forces in the south and adjust its commitment accordingly, says Bailey, echoing one of his off-stated themes.

"Almost the entire border faces Shi'ite areas. The Christian presence doesn't amount to a roll of pins," he said. "Yet all the time we were in Lebanon, we never had more than one part-time person dealing specifically with the Shi'ites."

The Christians, meanwhile, have their own vested interests in the south that will ensure a pro-Israeli stance regardless of Israeli policy, Bailey says.

"Even if we neglect them, they won't turn against us," he asserts, noting that the SLA's built-in reason for continued existence is the preservation of continuity between relatively isolated southern Christian centres like Marjayoun and Jezzine.

Bailey further advises hitting Hizbollah hard, but selectively. That's not what happens now as SLA forces almost daily spray Shi'ite villages outside of the security zone with shells, killing and wounding civilians.

"These are things we never hear about...but the constant shelling creates greater resentment and weakens Amal," he says, adding, "How many times have we used the strong hand already?"

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South Lebanese Army
and Unifil troops



The leader of the South Lebanese Army, General Antoine Lahad, with Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir and Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy.

Hizbollah gets the message

EVENTS in Lebanon this past week have proven that a bark is sometimes more effective than a bite. By employing a strategy of verbal bellicosity backed by well-publicized troop movements along the northern frontier, Israeli defence officials were able to avert what seemed, at the beginning of the week, to be almost inevitable military confrontation with the Shi'ites of southern Lebanon.

There is no telling how long that situation will last. "We have applied another dressing to the wound, not healed it," one defence official summed up on Wednesday.

Indeed, all the elements for continuing instability in south Lebanon still prevail, despite the current military standoff. Hizbollah fundamentalists remain entrenched in the villages just north of the central sector of the security zone they have filtered into from the Bekaa valley in recent weeks: they are firm in their determination to revive the Shi'ite "revolution" against "the Zionist occupier and its South Lebanese Army lackey."

Their suspension of attacks against SLA positions in the past few days, the experts agree, indicates nothing more than a tactical respite, another lull before another of Lebanon's perennial storms.

The latest sequence of events started several weeks ago when re-

A working relationship

ports began to reach Israel that the fundamentalists were trickling into Shi'ite villages just north of the security zone. They came in small groups, well-armed and well-funded by the Iranians, partly through the embassy in Beirut. Where they were not made welcome they used bribery, force and intimidation to establish a quiet presence.

THE REASONS behind Hizbollah's move were manifold. For some 15 months, since the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon, the situation in southern Lebanon has been basically stable. Shi'ites and Druse were active, albeit reluctant, members of the South Lebanese Army, and Amal developed a *modus vivendi* with the SLA. There were virtually no clashes between the SLA and Unifil, and the international force was beginning to demonstrate muscle, becoming increasingly effective in blocking terrorist infiltration attempts.

Worst of all, from Hizbollah's point of view, was the continued presence of IDF units on Lebanese soil, moving around virtually at will, even through Shi'ite territory.

Hizbollah's strategy was simple and was based on the logical assumption that given the inherently volatile situation in southern Lebanon, it would not take much to "topple the

house of cards," as one defence expert put it last week. The first mission was to pressure the imams of the local Shi'ite communities to preach anti-Zionist, anti-Christian, anti-foreigner dogma consistent with the word coming out of Teheran. Then pressure, coupled with monetary incentives and promises of weapons, was applied on the local Amal leadership to step up their military activities against the SLA and IDF in southern Lebanon.

The Hizbollah operatives worked in small cells, slowly and stealthily. They hired locals for huge sums to fire pre-positioned Katyusha rockets into the security zone and initiated a campaign of terror against Unifil personnel, particularly the French, whom Hizbollah saw as the key to the international force's ability to operate effectively.

IN ISRAEL, these developments were watched with growing concern, for they posed a serious dilemma. It was clear that if allowed to continue unchecked, the "house of cards" would begin to tumble. If, on the other hand, Israel intervened militarily, moderate Shi'ites would be forced to take sides — and there was little doubt here as to what side they would ultimately choose.

It was also clear that a significant bolstering of Israeli forces in southern Lebanon would not solve the problem automatically. On the contrary, a military move back into Lebanon would probably be counter-productive.

Israel's initial attitude was one of "wait and see." Officials here distanced themselves from Unifil's problems with the Shi'ites, saying that Israel was not involved and would remain uninvolved. Israel's position vis-à-vis the UN force was one of indifference as to whether it remained or left the region, but determination that in no circumstances would Israel allow a redeployment of Unifil down to the international boundary. To do so, it was felt here, would impinge on the freedom of movement and territorial sovereignty of the SLA, and hamper the IDF's operational freedom in the security zone.

It was only after Hizbollah units, together with small contingents from Amal, began a series of intense attacks against SLA positions in the central sector of the security zone some two weeks ago that Israeli defence planners realized that the time for procrastination had passed. It was obvious that Hizbollah was intent on challenging the SLA's hold on the predominantly Shi'ite northern-central sector of the security zone, and that that challenge could not go unanswered.

WE REALIZED early last week," one official recounted on Wednesday, "that they had decided to attack both the fringe and the heart of the SLA simultaneously. By this I mean that they attacked the geographic fringe — the outer perimeter of the

security zone — but essentially they were striking at the SLA's ability to survive as a cohesive territorial force.

"If that outer position had fallen, Shi'ite participation in the SLA would have ended, the tacit understandings we have with Amal and the Druse would have evaporated, and General Lahad's control in the south would have dissipated. We would have been faced with a new reality."

After the SLA sustained 15 killed in a week, and three Israeli soldiers in the security zone were wounded, the Israeli defence establishment undertook certain actions.

Simultaneously, defence officials, from Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin down, began issuing threatening statements that "peace in Lebanon would not be one-sided," and that Israel intended to "stand fast by the SLA."

To give credibility to the threats, Israel started an uncharacteristically public concentration of military force on the northern frontier. The press reported that military action was imminent.

Brinkmanship pays off

BY TUESDAY this week, Hizbollah seemed to have received the message. Israeli brinkmanship had worked. The question is, for how long? The situation that has prevailed in the area since Israel's withdrawal last June is clearly to Israel's advantage.

The northern border has been essentially quiet, and almost all terror infiltration attempts have been nipped in the bud. The SLA, which has suffered 75 killed and 220 wounded since the Israeli withdrawal, was performing better than expected in terms of both intra-demographic cooperation and military efficiency.

Unifil was becoming more proficient and less problematic diplomatically, and international condemnation of Israel's role in Lebanon had subsided and was no longer an issue. For all these reasons, Israel would like to perpetuate the *status quo*. For the very same reasons, Hizbollah, would like to undermine it.

It is clear that its goals do not lie in the security zone alone, but must be seen in a wider context. According to Israeli experts, south Lebanon, for Hizbollah, is a means, not an end.

Philosophically, those directing the Shi'ite fundamentalists from Teheran, (often against the wishes of Damascus, which would prefer stability in the south as long as the situation in Beirut remains volatile) see southern Lebanon as the "garden patch" from which the Islamic revolution will eventually grow to envelop the whole country.

IT IS in southern Lebanon, too, that Hizbollah — this time with the sup-

port of Syria and Libya — hopes to open a new front against any further development of the peace process between Israel and the Arab states. Prime Minister Peres's recent trips to Morocco and Alexandria have, analysts here claim, provided Hizbollah with added incentives to destabilize the Lebanese front and involve Israel in direct confrontation with the Shi'ites of the south.

"Don't forget that the Egyptians decided to withdraw their ambassador when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982," said one source on Tuesday. "Allowing Basoumi to present his credentials to President Herzog simultaneously with a new Israeli invasion, even a limited one, of Lebanon this week, and so soon after the Alexandria summit, must have proved more than a little embarrassing for the Egyptians."

It is because of the diplomatic complications that can develop out of the situation in southern Lebanon that military planners here have decided to tread lightly, resorting to the use of force only if no alternative is available. Even then, it has been made clear, the use of force will be selective.

"Gone are the days of Goliath," a senior officer said. "We will deal with the threat with pinpoint efficiency, and not mass force. It is we who will dictate the rules of the game, not they."

THE IDF, and increasingly the SLA, are well-equipped to deal with any military threat from Hizbollah without having to call in divisions for support. Israeli and SLA units defending the perimeter of the security zone have better equipment and are better positioned than the fundamentalists. They are also just as familiar with the territory as the Shi'ites, and generally enjoy every tactical advantage other than surprise.

"Surprise you can counter with intelligence and technological means, and we possess both of these. I see no reason why stepped-up local activity by Hizbollah cannot be dealt with locally," the officer concluded.

His words seem to be consistent with mainstream military thinking in Israel at this time. While "divisions" will be used to send a psychological threat to the other side, their deployment on the northern border, as happened last week, does not necessarily presage their being sent into battle.

In order to counter Hizbollah's threat, Israel is likely to pursue its policy of limiting direct involvement in southern Lebanon. Instead, it will upgrade the type of equipment it is giving the SLA, and supply limited and almost invisible IDF support when needed.

"The real test of Israel's strength," one official said on Wednesday, "will be not to use strength in southern Lebanon, but stealth. Any other course," he warned, "would, ultimately, be self-destructive."

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

Peres's unwelcome 'gift'

IF Prime Minister Shimon Peres left his Alexandria summit with President Hosni Mubarak carrying what he thought was the gift package of an international Middle East peace conference, aimed at coaxing the ever-reluctant King Hussein of Jordan into negotiations, it had become an unwelcome excess baggage by the time he reached Washington D.C.

He was unlucky that his last pre-rotation U.S. trip was overshadowed by the Nicholas Daniloff crisis, which reportedly led U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to use their Washington breakfast *tete-a-tete* to nudge Peres to downplay, if not jettison, the notion of involving the Soviets in the diplomatic process whatever the outcome of his New York meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Likewise, Peres's planned farewell visit to Paris couldn't have come at a less fortunate time. It may not take place at all with President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac somewhat preoccupied with the wave of terrorism that has caused the City of Lights to be renamed Beirut-by-the-Sea. Or perhaps, there was more to the current visit to France of PM Office's director-general Avraham (Abrasha) Tamir, than is officially known.

DEPUTY Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon enjoyed Peres's trip abroad, for it allowed Navon to fulfil an innermost ambition by serving as acting prime minister, if only for one night. He bridged the power hiatus caused by Peres's delayed return (due to meeting Shevardnadze) and the departure for the UN Assembly of Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

BACK home to prepare himself for the impending move to the Foreign Ministry, Peres can relish his constant ascendancy in the opinion polls. The big question is whether this kind of popularity will survive the change in office.

MINISTER-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman is telling anyone who'll listen that "the difference between Shimon and me is that I handed the premiership to Labour, while Shimon is handing it over to the Likud."

NO WONDER that Labour Party Secretary-General Uzi Baram is warning of the forthcoming collective psychological crisis awaiting his party. He explains: "Labour was accustomed to three decades of being the No. 1 party in power, and then survived for seven years in the opposition. After rotation, it will for the first time have to cope with the novelty of being the second party in government."

THEY'RE saying that Baram's recent declaration of an impending merger with Weizman's Yahad party was a bid to pin down the three-man

MK faction. Inside Labour there are many who doubt whether Baram's promise of three safe seats on the next Labour list will get through the new central committee. Some pundits claim that Weizman does not have three seats to deliver in this Knesset. First, Shlomo Amar is under the heavy cloud of police investigations and has hardly been seen in the Knesset. In addition, there are increasing reports of an ongoing flirtation between the Likud and Binyamin (Fuad) Ben-Eliezer, and of his meetings with Deputy Foreign Minister Ronnie Milo.

There is speculation that at the least, Milo sought to ensure votes for Shamir when his reconstituted government comes up for its Knesset confidence vote, with Labourites like Gur threatening to stay away. There is gossip that "Fuad" might even jump in the Likud's direction should it seek to form a narrow government, with a ministerial seat as a prize. Another political free-lancer thought likely to follow suit is Ometz's Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz.



Yitzhak Navon... prime minister for a night

THE LIBERALS are saying that the three Liberal Ministers Moshe Nisim, Gideon Pat and Avraham Shari were noticeably absent from the party rally called by MK Pinhas Goldstein to drum up support for the return to the government of his party patron, MK Yitzhak Moda'i. Will Shamir's promise to Goldstein to reinstate Moda'i in his government, have more substance than his old commitment to Deputy Premier David Levy to make him foreign minister?

IT WOULD appear that the guiding principle in the shifting sands, known as internal Herut alliances, is that one's adversary's adversary becomes one's ally. Otherwise how can one explain the new alliance replacing the erstwhile cold-hostility between Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe (Misha) Arens and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon? They say "Misha" may personally dislike Arik, but his distaste for David Levy is even greater.

IN HERUT the talk is that the Arens-Sharon alliance is being formed with an eye to the post-Shamir era. Rumours are spreading through Metsudat Ze'ev of a new front bench involving a leading panel of seven comprising Arens, Sharon, Yigal Cohen-Orgad, such Herut "princes" as Dan Meridor and Uzi Landau, with efforts to draw Dr. Elyahu Ben-Elissar away from Levy's camp. No. 7 in the proposed team would be an outsider of the calibre of former justice minister Shmuel Tamir, hinging on his state of health.

FOR ONCE, secular and Orthodox Tel Avivians have found common cause on a religious appointment, as have the local parties, from Likud and Labour to the NRP and Agudat Yisrael, with the proposal to name Netanyahu Chief Rabbi Israel Lau as Tel Aviv's next chief rabbi. The highly popular rabbinical leader is married to Chaita, daughter of the late, lamented Tel Aviv Chief Rabbi Yitzhak Yedidia Frankel. However, should her brother, Rabbi Isser Frankel of North Tel Aviv, decide to run, there will be other candidates, such as Haifa Chief Rabbi She'ar Yashuv Cohen.

JERUSALEM Mayor Teddy Kollek ("the Mayor of Mayors") celebrated his 75th birthday party when serving as MC at the first-ever, black-tie dinner party held at the New York Metropolitan Museum. Its official purpose was to launch the remarkable Israel Museum archaeological exhibition. There was a brilliant turnout at the launching party, with speeches delivered by Mayor Ed Koch and film star Kirk Douglas. More than 850 guests from three continents paid \$450 a plate, all for the Israel Museum.

The real stars at the opening were the two most celebrated New Yorkers of the hour — Lawrence Tish and William Paley — the key figures in the CBS take-over. Both are old friends of the museum — Tish donated \$1 million for the Moshe Dayan collection, while Paley endowed the Youth Wing at the Rockefeller Museum.

TEL AVIV Museum patrons are in for a real treat, thanks to the connections of museum spokesman Mooki Dagan. They will be able to attend the mid-November star-spangled world premiere, at Washington's Kennedy Centre, of Gian-Carlo Menotti's new opera *Goya*, starring Placido Domingo, and sit near President Ronald Reagan at the dinner. Dagan, an old friend of Menotti, was for years the director of his Spoleto Festival. This will be in addition to attending the opening of the first-ever retrospective exhibition of works by Alexander Archipenko, the father of constructivism, at the prestigious National Gallery of Washington, in partnership with Tel Aviv Museum, which is loaning the core items of the Archipenko show.



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NETTY
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(ask for Susan)
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Or Chodesh Congregation,
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Netan-Ya Congregation,
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The Israel Movement, the World Union for Progressive Judaism and ARZA extend sincerest wishes to all the House of Israel for a peaceful and fruitful New Year.

TO MARK 30 YEARS OF ISRAELI COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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in cooperation with

The Israel Association for International Cooperation and
the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace —
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announces a

COMPETITION FOR THE BEST ARTICLES ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

The competition is open to all Israelis who have worked, or are now working, with developing countries under official, public, or private Israeli, or international, auspices. Articles (up to 3,000 words each) may be submitted in English, French, Spanish, or Hebrew. The three best articles will receive prizes of NIS 600, NIS 300, and NIS 150, respectively. They and 20-25 other outstanding submissions will be published. The authors of the prize-winning and outstanding submissions will be honoured at a public ceremony.

Last date for submission of articles: December 31, 1986.

For further details, please write to: The Secretary, Israel Chapter S.I.D., P.O.B. 13006, Jerusalem 91130, Israel.

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On a proper interview

Telereview / Philip Gillon

ON FREQUENT occasions I have commended the skill and style of Ram Evron, and have voiced dissatisfaction only with his tendency to mumble the names of his guests as if he were an upper crust Englishman introducing strangers during a very noisy cocktail party.

There are two types of interviewers. One is the bully, establishing right away that he is the boss and the interviewee is the victim destined to squirm.

The other type is so sympathetic and so profoundly interested in the problems and opinions of his guest that the latter unfolds like an anemone — or, rather, like an onion — exposing layer after layer of his innermost thoughts and secrets. I personally prefer this kind of journalist to the hectoring bully, although there is a danger that we may end up seeing the interviewee only through his own rose-coloured glasses.

Evron generally adopts the sympathetic approach: only very occasionally, when he has been given some nasty right-wing bit of work by his producer, does he allow his own admirable opinions to obtrude.

On Monday night he was superb in his handling of the anonymous reformed alcoholic and his son — let me call them X and Y, respectively. Evron's task was particularly difficult. Despite his sympathy for X, he had to make it clear that he was on the side of the angels completely opposed to alcoholism however much he might understand X and even identify with him in his sufferings. He managed to perform this balancing act with admirable dexterity. The result must be one of the best interviews ever recorded on TV.

Charles Lamb wrote once a magnificent defence against the Puritans, who were trying to impose austerity and self-denial. Lamb listed all the lovely things we have and do, concluding with "the cheerful glass" — then he demanded, "Do these things not form part of your Eternity?" Another hedonist, Omar Khayyam, put it this way: "I often wonder what the Vintners buy One half so precious as the Goods they sell."

I agree wholeheartedly with Lamb and old Omar that alcohol is an all-important accessory to the quality of life, providing uplift, relaxation, conviviality and good-fellowship. It would be a sad world indeed if the prohibitionists were to take it over. But I must admit that alcoholism is a terrible scourge.

That prohibition is no answer was proved by the American experience, which literally released the evil genie of the Mafia from the bottle. In any case, prohibition of alcoholic beverages would not have helped X — he told us bluntly that he would drink methylated spirits or after-shave if he could not get the real thing.

The interview was prompted by a remarkable paper that Y had written as his matriculation project. The battering he had suffered at the hands of his father may, as he told

us, have affected his school-work for years, but he emerged very articulate. I have never heard so masterfully a description of the miseries of an alcoholic's family as the introduction to this thesis, which Evron read to us.

In fact, I would have preferred to have more of Y, even if this would have meant less of X. Heartbreaking though X's description of his journey into the inferno was, there was nothing new in it: we have often probed the recesses of the alcoholic's mind and soul. On the other hand, the frightful sorrows of an alcoholic's offspring, as described by Y, took me for one a dark new descent into hell.

He described how years passed in complete bewilderment as he gradually came to realize that his father was different from all other fathers. When drunk, X would beat him up for no reason. X said that the moment of which he was most ashamed was when Y had to go to school in summer in a long-sleeved shirt and long trousers to hide the bruises X had inflicted. But this did not stop X battering the boy, as well as his wife, whenever he was drunk.

Y described how he used to creep into a corner, folded up like a hedgehog, hoping that he would not be seen. He could never bring friends home, do his homework or prepare for his examinations. From the age of eight until he was 15 he had only one hope — that his father would die. His mother voiced the same prayer when X attempted suicide, took pills, lost courage, and begged her to send for an ambulance to take him to hospital.

From the time he turned 15, Y helped X to fight the demon that was consuming him. X was reborn on January 13, 1983 — a day he now celebrates as his birthday.

What was particularly distressing was Y's confession that he himself went through a patch when he too was drinking to excess. According to him, drinking has become an accepted practice in his school — and he was talking about vodka, not beer. Despite his knowledge of what drinking had done to his father, he thought that he understood the problem and could master it, could set his exact limit. X knew that Y had started drinking, and was terribly afraid for him, but said and did nothing. Now both of them are completely teetotal. X has learned the alcoholic's bitter lesson: one glass is one too many.

It was a harrowing interview, conducted by Evron with consummate skill. He ended by giving the phone number of Alcoholics Anonymous: 03-721161. I gather that Israelis, in their determination to imitate and outstrip Americans, on the principle that anything they can do we can do better, have imported alcoholism among the young. Why we have to be such apes and parrots is beyond comprehension.

MUCH MORE cheerful material, also very interesting, was provided



Yehzekiel Dror (Aliza Auerbach)



Ram Evron (Uzi Keren)

by psychologist Nachi Elyon. He is an expert on helping people who suffer from examitis or allied diseases. Such sufferers become tongue-tied, with their memories going blank, whenever they find themselves in situations in which they are being tested.

He cited the example of a woman doctor who was giving a presentation to a group of doctors. She became numb with terror when the director of the hospital walked in.

Elyon's prescription for mastering such situations is to engage in self-hypnosis, so as to convince oneself that one is far superior to the person dreaded. In the case of the doctor, for instance, she was told to fantasize that the director had walked in without his trousers, wearing old-fashioned gaiters. Elyon has achieved 70 per cent success with the 90 patients he has treated by such a method.

Since seeing the programme, I have abandoned my South African habit of prefacing every sentence I speak with the word "sorry." Instead I burst into laughter, because I seem to be surrounded by people of whom I used to be in awe — all of whom are only wearing gaiters.

The last interview on this remarkable programme was with Prof. Yehzekiel Dror, an expert on terrorism. The ancient Romans noted that one man's meat is another man's poison. Dror pointed out that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.

He prophesied that terrorism is going to be with us forever, and that we are going to have to learn to live with it, as we do with road accidents. I think that he is right. Fortunately, human beings are very flexible. I think that a time will come soon when people will refuse to cancel their vacations in Israel, merely from fear of Gaddafi and his minions.

Edge of Darkness came to its predictable unpredictable conclusion. Even now that it is all over, I cannot understand why the British and American governments were apparently in cahoots with the evil capitalist in his diabolical plot to make illegal plutonium. My impression is that the arsenal of the Great Powers are packed from cellar to roof-top with nuclear bombs. Why

did they need a private industrialist to produce plutonium for them?

Yes, Prime Minister was also about the intricate schemes which keep the British government ticking. The first 15 minutes were awful, embarrassingly bad, with laboured and obvious jests. They have turned Sir Humphrey into such a nincompoop that I think that he will soon be elevated to the Lords.

The programme suddenly came alive with the entry of the omniscient Israeli ambassador, acted by somebody bearing a remarkable resemblance to Ambassador Yehuda Avner. Script-writer Jonathan Lynn's obvious devotion to Zionism apparently inspired these pointed attacks on the Foreign Office for its anti-Israel and pro-Arab bias. Somebody should point out to the Foreign Office that Britain no longer needs the Arabs' oil; on the contrary, they are competitors, now that Britain is a major producer herself.

Sentencing the Foreign Office spy in No. 10 Downing Street to become the British Ambassador in Tel Aviv, trying to explain Britain's anti-Israel policy, was a stroke of genius, worthy of the Mikado's efforts to make the punishment fit the crime.

I still don't like the transformation of Jim Hacker into a man of wit and sagacity, easily outmaneuvering Sir Humphrey and the rest of the civil service pack. The whole point of the series has been changed.

THE NEW weekend entertainment, featuring Meni Pe'er, is full of good things: it's very bright and cheerful, just what we need to keep us amused and entertained. I was pleased to see several sporting celebrities making incorrect forecasts about the National League soccer games due to be played on the Saturday, just like those of us who support Sportoto as our deed of charity.

Pe'er is good-looking, witty, intelligent and quick. I have one slight criticism: he seems to be straining rather too hard, he looks as if he is under tension. Perhaps he should go to see that psychologist Elyon, to enable him to invest his entire audience, and that vast unseen audience out there in TV-land, in gaiters.

BASEBALL

Ryan's stingy performance leaves Astros just a hair shy

NEW YORK (AP). — Nolan Ryan pitched no-hit ball for 6½ innings and the Houston Astros clinched at least a tie for the National League West championship by beating the San Francisco Giants 6-0 in Houston in Wednesday night's Major League games.

Ryan, who gave a clean single to Mike Aldrete in the seventh, allowed one hit through eight innings. He struck out nine and walked three. Reliever Charlie Kerfeld gave one hit in the ninth.

Don Mattingly regained the American League batting lead by going 2-for-4, driving in two runs as the New York Yankees defeated the Baltimore Orioles 4-1.

Mattingly, the 1984 batting champ, started the game in a tie with Boston's Wade Boggs at .350 and finished at .351. He singled in the first inning to extend his hitting streak to 23 games, the longest in the Major Leagues this season and the longest of his career. Boston's game at Milwaukee was rained out.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Chicago 8, New York 2
Drew Hall pitched a six-hitter for his first Major League victory and Ryan Sandberg drove in three runs with two singles, leading the Cubs to a victory over the Reds.

Pittsburgh 2, Montreal 1
U.L. Washington singled home the tying run with two outs in the eighth inning to give the Pirates a victory over the Expos in a rain-delayed game.

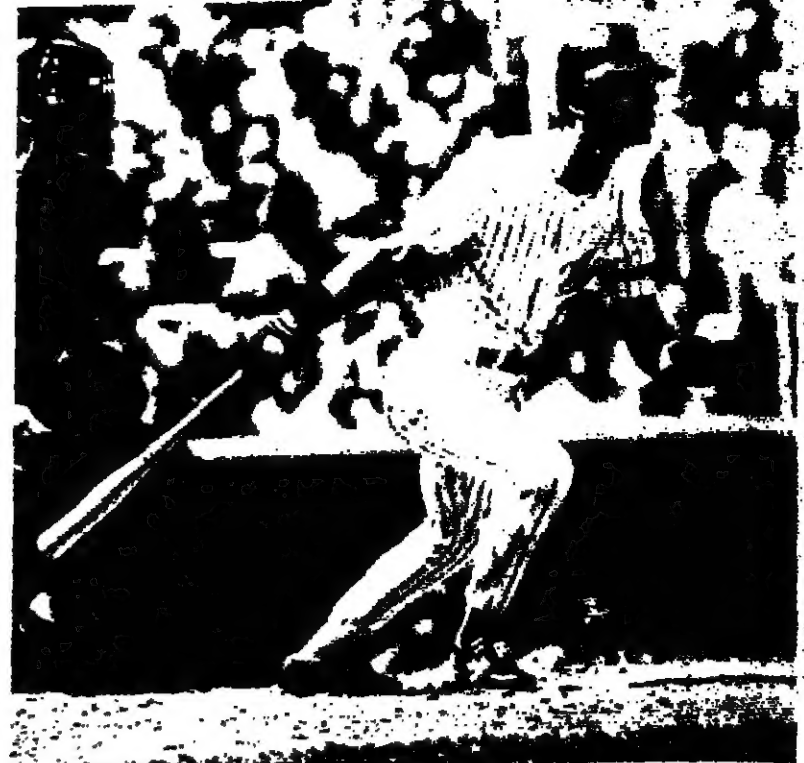
Cincinnati 4, Atlanta 1
Max Venable hit his first home run in two years, a three-run shot, and Ted Power pitched four-hit ball for 7½ shutout innings as the Reds beat the Braves.

St. Louis 7, Philadelphia 1
Darryl Kile pitched a seven-hitter and got home-run support from John Morris and Andy Van Slyke as the Cardinals beat the Phillies.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

Kansas City 2, Minnesota 1
Minnesota's Bert Blyleven allowed a game-winning solo home run to Frank White in the top of the ninth inning, the 46th surrendered this season by the right-hander to tie a record set 30 years ago by Hall-of-Famer Robin Roberts, as the Royals beat the Twins.

Toronto 8, Detroit 2
Home runs by Tony Fernandez and Cecil Fielder highlighted a six-run Toronto first in-



IMPRESSIVE SLUGGING: Don Mattingly of the Yankees.

ning, and Dave Stieb scattered seven hits over seven innings as the Blue Jays beat the Tigers.

Oakland 4, Chicago 2
Alfredo Griffin hit a two-run homer with two outs in the seventh inning, lifting the A's to their fourth straight victory, this time over the White Sox, who have lost five in a row.

Seattle 5, Texas 4
Ken Phelps drove in two runs with his 24th homer and a sacrifice fly as the Mariners defeated Texas 5-4 to halt a three-game winning streak by the Rangers.

NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

New York Philadelphia
Philadelphia St. Louis
Montreal Chicago
Pittsburgh

WEST DIVISION

Houston Cincinnati
San Francisco Atlanta
Los Angeles San Diego

* Clinched Division Title

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES: Chicago 8, New York 2; San Diego at Los Angeles, post., rain; Pittsburgh 2, Montreal 1; Cincinnati 4, Atlanta 1; St. Louis 7, Philadelphia 1; Houston 6, San Francisco 0

AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

Boston New York
Toronto Detroit
Cleveland Baltimore
Milwaukee

WEST DIVISION

California Texas
Oakland Kansas City
Seattle Chicago
Minnesota

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES: Oakland 4, Chicago 2; Cleveland at California, post., rain; Toronto 8, Detroit 2; New York 4, Baltimore 1; Kansas City 2, Minnesota 1; Boston at Milwaukee, post., rain; Seattle 5, Texas 4

Superstar shoot-out at Kiryat Eliezer

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — A match which has Uni Malmilian and Daniel Brailovsky on different sides and Zahi Arneli and Eli Ohana shooting at opposing goals is surely to be the drawing card of the day.

Neither Maccabi Haifa nor Betar Jerusalem have yet got into top gear in this early stage in the season, but when facing each other — as they do tomorrow at Kiryat Eliezer in Haifa — they will inevitably pull out all the stops. For the past three seasons these clubs have been among the top three in the National League, and both expect to be thereabouts at the end of this season.

Home ground advantage could tell for Arneli, Selektor, Brailovsky and Baruch Maman, but there will

not be much in it at the end of the game.

Who will play in goal for Hapoel Tel Aviv, against Hapoel Beersheba? That is the major headache Hapoel's moody coach David Schweitzer had this week. In the off season, Hapoel signed 24 year old Giora Antman from Hapoel Haifa, but Schweitzer took him off early in the second half against Maccabi Jaffa, blaming him for two goals conceded in seven minutes.

Yesterday, Schweitzer recalled former national team keeper Arie Alter for a heart-to-heart talk, after the player underwent a hospital fitness test which he passed with flying colours. The coach had earlier left Alter out of his calculations and agreed to his transfer. Yet in the

end, Schweitzer may take a different course altogether and field 19-year-old Yomtov Tallias between the posts.

Schweitzer has another headache about his strikers. Miki Ben Shitrit, who was also signed shortly before the season started, was brought off halfway through the second half last Saturday. He may lose his place to Shabtai Levy and Gili Landau. In any event, the league champions expect to return to winning ways after losing their first league match to Maccabi Jaffa by 3-2. Hapoel Beersheba were also at the losing end of a 2-1 result against Kfar Sava last week, but usually do well at Bloomfield.

A floodlit match at the same ground, starting at 5:30 p.m., will be between Maccabi Tel Aviv and Maccabi Jaffa, who came back so impressively in the 2-2 draw against Betar Jerusalem last Saturday. They play at home in the Herta Quarter in a Tel Aviv derby against Shimshon, and ground advantage may just give them the edge. Maccabi Beersheba and Hertzliya are two dangerous Be'er Yehuda strikers, and new signing Michel Deyon from Hapoel Jerusalem may also be in the line up. The game will be played by floodlight.

Club championships tee off at Caesarea

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Eighty-one golfers, aged from 11 to 81, teed off yesterday in the first round of the 36-hole 1986 Club Championships, sponsored for the fourth consecutive year by the French company Farfums Jacques Bogart.

The leaders are Nissim Znati of Or Akiva, with an even par 73, and Martin Cooper of Herzliya, with a 78.

Ellie Ben and Alor Davidson of Hertzliya are leading the seniors (55 and over), each with an 85.

The leading women are Sylvia Hiss, the wife of the German ambassador, with 96, and Vered Hymen of Netanya, with 92.

In the junior division, Avi Aramim of Or Akiva scored an 85, one stroke ahead of Doron Rapoport of Sarayon who has an 86.

The final 18 holes will be completed today.

Feisty McEnroe, stale Connors both win

SAN FRANCISCO (Reuters). — John McEnroe was involved in yet another row with officials before cruising into the second round of the \$289,000 San Francisco Tennis Grand Prix.

The fourth seed, a 6-2, 6-2 winner against Australian Brod Dyke, argued with the umpire and Grand Prix supervisor with the match barely into its stride.

McEnroe, leading 2-1, was warned by the

umpire for taking too long changing ends. He protested angrily and made an unsuccessful attempt to have him replaced.

The American said he should not have been cautioned because he was applying tape to his racket and was not stalling purposely.

Second-seed Jimmy Connors, 34, gave away 12 years and beat fellow-American Dan Goldie 6-1, 7-6, but said he felt mentally stale.

Weekend events

SHOW JUMPING. — The Israel Horse Society's second meet of the new season takes place tomorrow at the Jockey Club in Kfar Sava, with a 9 a.m. start. The competition begins with a class for style, working up to higher grades and finishing with an open double event.

LAWN BOWLS. — The Israel Bowls Association's annual national four championship winds up this weekend at the Ramat Hashikma Club. Play starts at 2 p.m. both today and tomorrow.

More sport page 17.

The crucial time of decision

Tora today / Pinhas H. Peli

A SHORT while ago I was one of 1,500 Jews from all over the world attending the international convention of B'nai B'rith. There is usually nothing new about Jewish organizational conventions. Attend one and you know them all. Nonetheless several things at this particular convention merited attention.

B'nai B'rith is perhaps the oldest Jewish organization around. It has just marked its 143rd year and is still very much alive and youthfully enthusiastic. One followed with amused surprise the zest of the electioneering on behalf of the various candidates running for office in the international body. Indeed, this was a rare phenomenon among Jewish organizations, where the candidates for office are usually hand-picked by prior arrangement, leaving little room for surprises from the convention floor.

The hundreds of delegates, meeting for the sake of the furtherance of Judaism, made their way in pilgrimage to the unholy city of Las Vegas, Nevada, not known as a symbol of genuine Jewish ideals. The explanation for this venue was its inexpensive convention facilities. I can testify that the casino's roulette tables and the slot-machines in the hotel's lobby did not divert the attention of the delegates.

A "midrash" on the choice of location circulated during the convention, which noted that being Jewish nowadays is indeed a risky gamble. Either we hit the jackpot (re-enter fully into the Brit, the covenant commitment of our Jewishness) or lose all (fall away altogether). There is no room today, just as there was none in the time of Moses or of Elijah for wavering in-between,

"limping between the two stepping stones" (I Kings 18:21).

Jews and Judaism today face a crucial time of decision. Either we re-enter fully into the covenant or remain utterly outside. Ours is no time to look at it from afar, even if we look full of admiration and nostalgia. The same choice Moses put to the children of Israel in the wilderness more than 3,000 years ago faces us today in the wilderness of our life.

THE COVENANT between God and Israel was originally, and still must be, all-inclusive. Judaism would not survive if it were to remain an exclusive club for rabbis and other professional Jews. It cannot be lived for us vicariously by the Israelis, the ultra-Orthodox (either of the BF — born from brand, or the NE — nouveau from brand), by the hassidim or by any one else but ourselves.

Moses, "our teacher," warns us against such a notion as he draws close to the end of his life: "You stand this day, all of you before the Lord your God" (Deuteronomy 29:9-11). He does not satisfy himself with "all of you" in general and goes on to list in detail all those whom he groups together to "stand before the Lord": "the heads of your tribes, your elders, your officers, each and every person in Israel, your little ones, your women and the stranger (or convert) within your camp from the heaver of your wood to the drawer of your water." Standing before the Lord was never limited to an elitist group. No one is to be left out when Israel is about to "enter the covenant of the Lord."

Moreover: "Neither with you alone do I make this covenant and this oath, but with him that stands

here with us this day before the Lord our God, and also with him that is not here with us today" (ibid., verse 13). The people of Israel entering the covenant encompasses all Jews, all the shades of the widest spectrum and of all times, past, present and future.

Centuries later the rational "Savants of Aragon" would put a question to Don Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508): how can one impose an obligation on past and future generations that were not at all present at the time when the covenant was entered into? Does one generation have the right to commit all other generations?

Many Jewish thinkers came up with answers to this question — each in his own style and rational or mystical mode of expression. In the sum-total all answers suggest that *Klal Israel* (the totality of Israel) is an entity that transcends time: Judaism does not belong to any one generation; it is intergenerational, spinning past, present and future, into one web which cannot be torn. Any "now" Judaism that represents one generation only, even two, is but a forgery. This quality of covenant is inherent in its very definition, namely, the bonding together of God the eternal and Israel. What God does, says A. J. Heschel, happens both in time and eternity. From our vantage point it happened once, from His, it happens all the time. The act of covenant grasps history in reverse, it expresses future as well as past in the present tense.

THERE WERE actually three covenants: the covenant made at Horeb with those who received the Tora; the covenant made in the plains of Moab with the people entering the land; and the third, on the day of the death of Moses (ibid. Rashi). This last one, observes Rabbi J.B. Soloveitchik, was different in nature from the first two (see Peli, *On Repentance*, p. 215).

Every covenant that joins God with his people bestows upon them a certain measure of sanctity. There is, however, according to Soloveitchik, a dual aspect to the sanctity endowed on Israel via the covenant. The divine sanctity derived from the first two covenants was granted to Israel as a people and is passed on by inheritance from generation to gen-

eration. The Talmud states that "a Jew who sins is still a Jew." Nothing can exclude him from the sanctity which belongs to *Klal Israel* as such. On the other hand, the sanctity which derives from the third covenant consists of an oath taken separately by each and every individual. When the individual transgresses and breaks the oath, the agreement of the covenant is void, and the sanctity which was his by right of his commitment to the covenant, is abrogated.

The portion of Tora *Nitzavim*, which tells about this third covenant, is always read before Rosh Hashana, when it is time to review one's spiritual balance sheet. Repentance, says Rabbi Soloveitchik, not only cleanses the sinner of the pollution of sin, it also effects a re-enactment of the covenant between the individual person and the Holy One. It not only purifies the character of the sinner, but also sanctifies his "persona," qualifying him to re-enter the covenant. To attain this one must "stand before the Lord" in a "face to face" confrontation. One cannot appoint an agent to enter a covenant for him.

Every Jew is born into the covenantal community of Israel. No one can rob him from the measure of sanctity shared by this community. There is, however, an additional measure of sanctity which derives from the third covenant. If one fails to live according to the prescribed conditions of the agreement, he falls out from the sanctity resulting from this covenant. However, the gates of repentance are open for him to come back, to stand again "before the Lord" and re-enter the covenant.

This idea of the dual covenant brilliantly developed by Rabbi Soloveitchik and reflected also in the theological writings of Franz Rosenzweig, was echoed, perhaps inadvertently, in the words of Seymour Reich, the newly elected president of International B'nai B'rith, who quipped in his acceptance speech at the mentioned convention: "All Jews are of course B'nai B'rith, children of the covenant, some of them however, pay membership dues."

The portion of Tora for this week is *Nitzavim-Vayelekh* (Deuteronomy 29: 9-31:30)

TODAY'S LESSON

Safe Drivers Save School Children's Lives!

Life after tax reform

What the future holds — 4
By Pinhas Landau

Ideas which are thought
'unthinkable and impossible'
today may not be considered
so five and 10 years hence

THE PART of the economy which is changing fastest, and about which there is most agreement in favor of the changes, is the capital market, as noted in the previous article. The other main area in which most people think something should be done urgently, is the tax system. Here, however, the consensus begins and ends with the axiom that "something should be done." The details of what that something might be are a subject of wide dispute.

This is not surprising, since there are even more vested interests that will be harmed by sweeping tax changes than by capital market reform. However, there are two compelling reasons for believing that the movement towards tax reform will grow stronger rapidly, and will succeed in overcoming this powerful opposition.

The first is internal. The decline in inflation and the extra taxes levied in 1984/85 have combined to make the tax burden on corporations and individuals unbearable, on an absolute basis. With almost 60% of GNP now being soaked up in taxes, and with a smaller proportion of government revenues being funneled back to the public through subsidies and transfer payments, it is patently impossible to run a profitable, growing business, pay taxes and still survive.

The alternative, cheating, is of course universally adopted, but the great successes of the tax collectors in clamping down on evasion, and the smaller opportunity for avoidance in a non-inflationary atmosphere, have made this more risky and less effective. On these grounds, tax reform is inevitable if the business sector is not to be steadily emasculated.

On a comparative international basis, too, there already exists ample incentive for the over-taxed Israeli to complain, and zero incentive for

him to work. Because he looks to the main Western economies as his basis for comparison, he knows that paying the top rate of 60 per cent marginal income tax after earning \$25,000 a year is unheard of. He also knows that paying \$10-15,000 for a small and unspectacular automobile is ludicrous.

He objects to a system that regards rewarding hard work with high pay as anti-social, and that, in the late twentieth century, considers the family car and the colour-TV to be luxury goods.

His objections are voiced passively, by withdrawing his marginal time and energy from work and production, and ultimately, by withdrawing himself from the economy completely and offering his labour in a competing market where it is more appreciated.

This is already a well-established trend, especially in advanced industries and other areas requiring a large investment in the acquisition of education (such as doctors). The portending U.S. tax reform, based on lowering marginal taxes and abolishing differential breaks and exemptions, will sharpen this contrast between Israel and its main competitor for its best manpower.

What is even worse is that the same rationale of the global economy that was described for the capital market, is beginning to come into play in the labour markets as well. Many countries, from Canada to France, are seriously considering going the American route on tax reform, because they know they won't be able to compete in the long term unless they meet the chal-

lenge head-on. Israel, too, will have no choice, and the debate will centre not on whether to implement tax reform, but how.

BY NO coincidence whatsoever, capital market and tax reform were the two main recommendations of the famous letter from the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Prime Minister Shimon Peres. However, the third line of change that Shultz proposed, that the government withdraw from direct ownership of chunks of the economy, is much further from the consensus within Israel than either of the other two suggestions.

Such "privatization" covers a broad range of possibilities. The sale of government-owned industrial and commercial corporations is one form and one that many people say they would support.

Introducing choice in the educational system and giving pupils vouchers to obtain educational services wherever they, or their parents think best, is quite another, form of privatization and is one that the

majority of Israelis would recoil from in horror. Even Amnon Rubinstein, by far the least hide-bound of any of the members of the current cabinet, is appalled at the idea of decentralizing and introducing competition into education services.

Yet a look at the world scene shows, again, that privatization is a growing reality, and that the (non-Communist) countries doing it fastest are precisely those with the largest state sectors, such as Britain and France.

The rationale for this trend is rooted in the inherent inefficiency of governmental and quasi-governmental structures, where the absence of a profit motive and market-imposed discipline allows the entity in question to cut itself off from reality. In the face of a world economy changing at an unprecedented pace, this is a luxury that no company and no country — apparently not even the Soviet Union — can any longer afford.

The scope for privatization in Israel is vast, mainly because despite

years of empty pater, nothing has actually been done to initiate the process. It is very likely that in the coming years more and more will be heard on this topic, but for the moment it seems a reasonable assumption to look at two areas where the chances of talk turning into action are better than most.

The first is the energy sector, where the cozy existence of the local cartels is now threatened by the extraordinary volatility of international energy markets. Here, again, the catalyst for change will be the bald fact that the absence of competition does not impel the companies involved to seek their sources from the cheapest alternative or to sell them to consumers as cheaply as possible.

Even as mainstream a Labour minister as Moshe Shalal seems to be unable to avoid the necessity of shaking out the Haifa-based fat cats who control Israel's energy supply and production. In fact, Shalal is a classic example of the kind of metamorphosis being forced on so many Israeli politicians, and the largely outdated party ideologies they peddle — a topic that will be examined in the next article in this series.

Energy is an old, established fortress of government ownership, regulation and policy intervention. The other area worth watching is a much more recent swamp that the government has created for itself — the bank-share "arrangement," under which the government must redeem some \$1.5 billion worth of bank shares in October 1987 and a further \$3.8b. in October 1988.

This burden is continuing to distort not only the financial markets, but the entire economy, as it has done since Yitzhak Shamir's cabinet invented it under pressure from the bankers and their one-man lobby, MK Avraham Shapira, during a hard day's night in October 1983.

How the government is to meet its obligation is still unclear, but the orthodox assumption is that it will, in the end, succeed in recycling the bank shares into some other form of debt, hopefully less "bunched" and therefore less onerous to repay on the next time around.

But there is an unorthodox solution which is gradually gaining adherents. It suggests that the government adopt a major privatization programme over the next two years, selling off to the public — or to foreign investors — such items as the Bezek corporation, the Israel Chemicals group, El Al and Zim, if they could be made profitable, and even some of the 93 per cent of the country's land that is held by the Israel Lands Authority.

These are just some of the more easily realizable assets that the state has and doesn't need, according to the privatizing philosophy. The proceeds of these sales should go toward repaying, instead of just rescheduling, the bank share commitment.

Privatization of welfare services, of education and health, and of other government monopolies, are unrealistic in the Israeli context — or so it is believed. In fact, it may be argued that many of these services are being replaced, somewhat surreptitiously, by private competitors costing more but offering more.

In any event, the people who still talk in terms of certain ideas and policies being "unthinkable" and "impossible" might want to consider

what is happening today and being planned for tomorrow, and compare them to the unthinkable and impossible of five and ten years ago.

FINALLY, there is the third major element of government spending, after welfare and services, and debt repayments. This is defence, and here too there are radical ideas that still seem remote but may become reality in the course of time.

The established Israeli military doctrine of carrying the war to the enemy and seeking a rapid decision through mobility and firepower, is under attack from inside and outside the army. It is said to be too expensive in terms of both men and money, and counter-productive because it necessitates a huge army that the Arab states must see as a permanent threat.

Instead, the radicals suggest, Israel should base itself on a defensive strategy based on employing the emerging array of "smart" weapons that substitute quality and sophistication for the opposite features. These weapons would be used to smash offensive forces before, or when they attack. They are immensely expensive, but still cheaper in the long run than the standing army and huge reserve forces that Israel currently maintains — or so it is claimed.

This debate over defence is still in its early stages, and has obvious strategic and political implications for foreign policy and domestic politics, as well as for the allocation of the nation's economic resources, which is the basis of all economic policy. It is worth noting that, as with so many other of the changes mentioned above, it is the onrush of technology that is making these debates unavoidable, and will keep them on the agenda.

Guns — and lots of butter too

Understanding the past — 2
By Avi Temkin

THE ECONOMY is on the verge of major reforms, most of them dealing with the ways and means by which the government finances its spending, either by taxation or borrowing in the capital market. The reforms will probably also cover the quantity and the quality of services, such as health and education, as well as the size and structure of the public sector.

The need for change is not new. In the mid-Seventies it was already felt that an overhaul of the basic set-up and financing of the public sector was needed. But the measures implemented to bring about this change were, in the best of the cases, partial, and not always successful. Thus, the need for reforms is a direct result of the action — and inaction — in the Seventies of governments facing acute external and internal pressures.

The second part of *The Israeli Economy*, a recently published book, highlights the problems and developments in Israel's public sector, and how it coped with the underlying internal and external pressures which combined to bring about the crises characterizing the economy during the past several years. The book brings together the results of research on economic developments in the Israeli economy during its third decade. Most of the work was done at Jerusalem's Falk Institute of Economic Research, one of the top research institutes in the country.

In his essay about health and education services, Gur Ofer notes that in the course of the third decade, defence expenditures increased, the government launched an ambitious and far-reaching income maintenance programme and had to finance a further increase in the already extended provision of civil services. The defence burden and budget grew to absorb Israel's entire foreign aid receipts while extra internal resources generated by growth dwindled to a tiny flow. At the same time, the share of government expenditure financed by net taxes, taxes less transfers to the public, actually declined.

The Israeli government might be compared with a juggler who has to cope with an ever increasing number of balls in the air. The government had to face not only strong pressure for an increase in the quantity and quality of health and education services, and the need to soothe social tensions stemming from rising income and wealth inequality in previous years, but also had to finance rising military spending. At the same time it had to facilitate growth in the business sector. All this had to be



The defence burden.

(Rubinger)

done while energy and commodity prices surged in international markets, productivity at home fell sharply and the economy stagnated. By the mid-Eighties, our overloaded juggler had reached the end of the road, and a change in the rules of the game was inevitable.

THERE is probably no other factor that has left its imprint on the economy as much as the long-term increase of the defence burden. This development is documented by Eitan Berglas.

According to official figures, military spending's share of the Gross National Product rose from 10 per cent in the years preceding the 1967 war to 21 per cent in 1968-1972 and to 28 per cent in the years after the 1973 war. Between 1954 and 1980, the GNP rose by 530 per cent,

defence expenditure by 1,760 per cent.

But Berglas stresses that even these official figures underestimate the size of the burden of military spending. They do not include expenditures attributed to areas other than defence or not reported at all. Thus, the costs to the economy in terms of production lost due to conscription, and reserve duty are not recorded. Neither are those resulting from loss of life. The spending for pensions for former employees in the Defence Ministry is not counted, and neither are costs incurred by holding large stocks of fuel and essential foodstuffs, and the cost of civil defence.

Berglas suggests that these missing amounts total more than half of the reported expenditure in local currency for defence activities. This

would put the figure for the burden closer to 35 to 40 per cent of the GNP.

The conclusion is undisputable. There cannot be economic recovery without slashing military spending. Although there are some positive results from the large military sector, such as technological and industrial spin-offs from military projects, there is little doubt that in the long run military spending is crowding out investment.

THE DEFENCE burden's rise was accompanied by an economy increasingly unable to finance such expenditure. As Berglas points out, as military spending went up, no attempt was made to divert resources from the rest of the economy. On the contrary, the government increased other expenditures at the same time. In other words, the government refused to recognize the problem of guns or butter. It simply wanted more of both.

In the Seventies, "butter" included increased spending in education and health services. Their share of the GNP rose from 12.6 per cent in 1968 to 15.8 per cent in 1980. Most of this increase took place in the first half of the decade.

Ofer points out that while the expansion of these services was comparable to that of other developed countries or even slower, it was accompanied by an increasing pressure on the central fiscal system. In 1968 the government, together with the Jewish Agency and the local authorities, financed three quarters of the country's education services. By 1978 this share had risen to about 85 per cent. In 1968 the Jewish Agency financed 20 per cent of the national expenditure on education from foreign aid funds, whereas in 1978 its share contracted to only 7.6 per cent and has since decreased further. Throughout this period, non-profit institutions financed about 15 per cent of the cost of education, compared to 25 per cent in the early Sixties. Direct private financing of educational expenditures contracted from 9.5 per cent of the total to 1.7 per cent during the third decade. A similar picture emerges for the health system.

Ofer advocates that an appropriate move to heal the economy would not entail cutting these services. Nevertheless, he says the government should reduce the gap between the payment for services by increasing the fees. "Israel must return to the selective principle of providing

aid only to the needy," he says.

One must recognize, however, the problems which such proposals would raise if implemented. First, there is the difficulty involved in the definition of "needy" with the stigma it could create, the bureaucratic apparatus it would entail and the almost impossible task of defining clear criteria of eligibility for free medical care or education.

A more important objection is that such an increase in prices would affect first and foremost those who would probably not be considered "needy," like young families and workers depending on wages for their livelihood. Ofer's proposal would impose a relative burden on such families.

Moreover, the "use" of health and education services is much more frequent among the very young and the very old. Those using those services would not be able to pay, while those who can pay would not use such services.

ALONGSIDE the efforts to provide the population with more and better services, the need emerged to make efforts to redistribute income, so as to increase equality and reduce social tensions. The potentially explosive situation of income differentials corresponding to ethnic characteristics was acknowledged. Reducing gaps involved the development of a system of taxes and transfers, such as child and old age allowances, geared to reduce the gaps in income levels among groups and individuals.

The essays by Yehuda Geva and Jack Habib and by Eitan Berglas discuss the development of the tax and transfer system. A gloomy picture emerges from them. The fiscal

system was put in an impossible situation. It needed to raise more revenue to cover increased government spending, but it was also expected to redistribute income. Thus, while tax rates and tax collection increased, due to a larger tax burden necessary to cover increasing outlays, transfers also rose, as a result of the effort to redistribute income and close gaps.

Moreover the system of transfers was also designed to improve profitability in the private sector and huge subsidies were granted to it directly or through cheap credits. Intuitively, one feels such policy benefited wealthy industrialists more than wage earners, and thus could have offset the efforts to redistribute incomes. On top of all this, the tax system was also expected to encourage savings, through a structure of exemptions which Berglas says was never consistent.

This fiscal system, which was expected to raise revenue, encourage savings and redistribute income, found itself in a progressive state of deterioration, as inflation went up with the passage of time. According to Geva and Habib, it is possible that inflation reflected a deliberate government policy aimed at reducing the level of benefits and their total cost in real terms, in part in response to the slowdown in GNP growth and the increase in wages. A government lacking the political determination or clout to cut these transfers may have found it easier to let inflation erode them.

Whatever the government's intentions were, one thing is clear. The impact of inflation on the distribution of income was very large. Accelerating inflation eroded the tax

base. Firms and self-employed started paying less and less taxes until, as Berglas puts it, the income tax system was nothing more than a system of taxes on wages.

Geva and Habib found that income inequality went down during the first half of the decade, but later increased again, although not to previous levels. Since the widening of gaps took place during the acceleration of inflation, it is plausible that the two developments were connected.

Geva's and Habib's second finding is much more significant. They found that the decrease in inequality that took place was not the result of the system of transfers and allowances, but of developments in pre-tax and pre-transfer incomes. The narrowing of gaps was more connected to the fact that Oriental families were having fewer children and the fact that larger families had a better chance of not being poor than with the development of the system of allowances and transfers.

One allowance which they found to have a positive effect were allowances to elderly people. Child allowances were less important, since, as mentioned above, family size was less important in determining household relative income.

These findings may lead to a questioning of the system of allowances and transfers developed in Israel, and its efficiency in narrowing gaps between the rich and the poor. Nevertheless one must remember this system operated in the midst of galloping inflation, which probably eroded some of the gains and benefits of the transfer system, while distorting the structure of tax rates, tax thresholds and ceilings.

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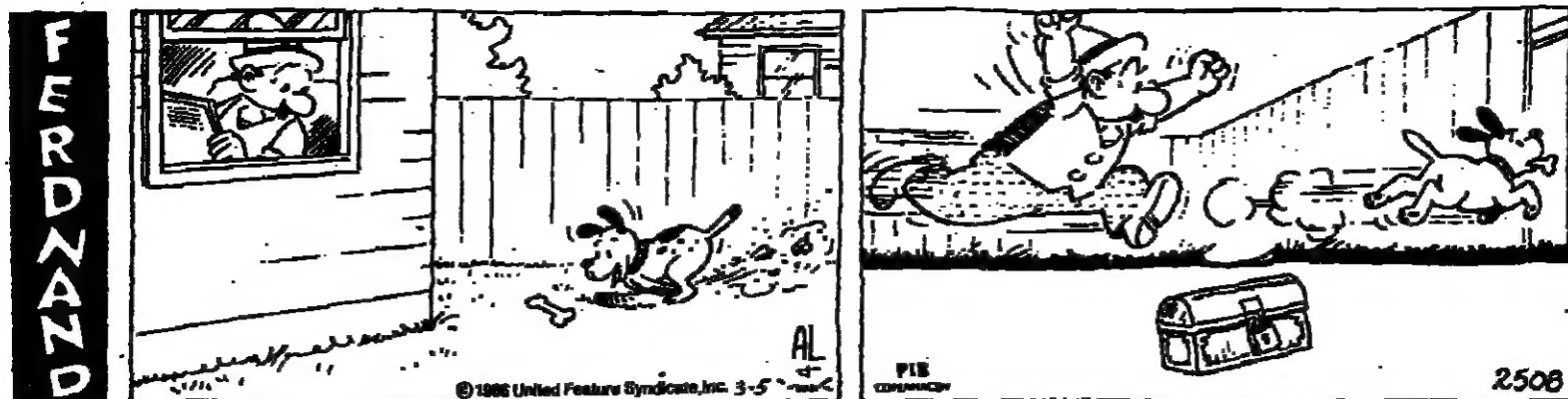
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Chess



Kasparov ponders his next move in yesterday's game.

Karpov draws level

LENINGRAD (AP). — Anatoly Karpov yesterday capped a dramatic comeback in his bid to regain the world chess crown by scoring a third straight victory that evened the score in his rematch with champion and bitter rival Garry Kasparov.

With just five games left to play and the score at 9.5 points each, Kasparov still holds a one-point advantage, since he will keep his hard-won title if the 24 games end with a 12-12 tie.

Kasparov is to play the advantageous white pieces in the next

game, scheduled for today, and will win the match simply by drawing the next five games.

Experts say the contest is too close to call.

But Karpov seems to be at the top of his form after a masterful win in game 19, and that puts pressure on both men — on Kasparov to break Karpov's winning streak, and on Karpov to do more than draw.

Kasparov will be playing white in three of the remaining games against Karpov, whom he beat last November to end Karpov's 10-year reign as king of world chess.

U.S. move to boycott tourney because of ban on Israelis

MORRISTOWN, New Jersey (AP). — Two members of the U.S. Chess Federation have made their opening moves to stop American players from attending an international tournament at which Israelis will be banned by the host Arab nation.

In a suit filed in Morristown, federation members Donald Lieberman and Robert Cohen contend the federation is violating federal laws by participating in the 1986 Chess

Olympiad in Dubai, a member of the United Arab Emirates.

The members, who are not participating in the tournament, have asked for an injunction against sending the six U.S. men and four women chess players to the chess world's premier tournament.

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6:08 p.m.
6:08 p.m.

bat. Oct. 4, 8:30 a.m. - 5:15 p.m.; Oct. 5, 8:30 a.m. - 5:15 p.m. (Mitzvah). Tel. 287465.

Hazan: Dr. R. K. Edwards. No charge.

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TEL AVIV G.T. SYNAGOGUE, 110 Allenby. Shabbat services conducted by guest cantor. Rosh Hashana before Kabbalat Shabbat by Synagogue President Avraham Hatzroni. Mincha 5:30. Shabbat 8:00.

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REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Muristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Services: English 9 a.m.; German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 2543, 289201.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Citadel. 9:30 Family service; 7:00 p.m. Evening service.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis. West Jerusalem. Sunday services: 9:00 a.m. Bible study; 10:30 a.m. Worship. Tel. 22942.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND near Railway Station. Sunday morning service, 10 a.m. Tel. 02-714659.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP, 7:30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 283964.

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JERUSALEM

TORAH TOURS of all Israel. Tel. 02-815148.

Information Centres

UJA INFORMATION CENTRE, 1 Ibn Gabirol St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. Features TV news programmes from the U.S., computer A.P. News teletext, videotapes on UJA (United Jewish Appeal) sponsored programmes in Israel. Open Sunday, Thursday, 3:00-7:00 p.m. For more information call 02-248485, 02-240795.

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WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-540540.

ART GUIDE

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JERUSALEM

Museums

ISRAEL MUSEUM. Exhibitions: Kariel Hinnom - treasure facing Jerusalem's Walls; "A Man and His Land"; Moshe Dayan Collection; Minus One Dimension, 20th century sculptures; drawings; 0 Moshe Gershuni - largest exhibition of his paintings, 1980-85; Jenny Holzer/Barbara Kruger, 2 American artists exploring use of words; 0 Art in Context, audio-visual programme; 0 News in Analogues; 0 Big and Small, relief sculpture; 0 Life, art and children's world; 0 Jewels of Children's Literature; 0 Permanent exhibitions of Archaeology, Judaica, and Ethnic Art (starting Wed., 1.10, Bethlehem Embroidery, dresses and costume parts).

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun-Thurs. 10-1; 3:30-5. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-1. 2 Hapalmach St. Tel. 02-8612912. Bus No. 15.

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century World War II, 5 Or Hahaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun-Thur, 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

SIR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Heichal Shlomo. Special Exhibition: Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, Succot, shofar. Visits to Morocco, 1975-85, photographs by Roy Mitzman. Permanent Exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

Galleries

JERUSALEM MAP HOUSE, 7 Beit El St., Old City, 288338, 423547. Roberts, Turner, etc.

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TEL AVIV DENTAL ASSOCIATION. 49 Rehov Bar-Kochba, Friday: 6 p.m. to midnight. Saturday: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.; 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. Tel. 03-284649.

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Netanya: Porat, 76 Patah Tikva, 40567. Haifa: Mazor, 97 Hameginim, 524113.

Saturday, September 27
Jerusalem: (day) Kupat Holim Clalit, Ramat, 523191; Balem, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Alawa, Herod's Gate, 282058; (evening) Bikur Holim, 5 Straus, 223141.

Tel Aviv: (day) Shu'afat, 28 King George, 283731; Arlosoroff, 78 Arlosoroff, 230746; (evening) Habima, 17 Dizengoff, 288465; Arlosoroff, 76 Arlosoroff, 230746. Netanya: Geva, 14 Shaar Hagai, 22895. Haifa: Hanassi, 33 Sderot Hanassi, 33312.

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Jerusalem Institute for Drug Problems. Tel. 663828, 653902, 14 Bethlehem Rd.

The National Police Control Centre at Ramat Hospital, phone (04)529205, for emergency calls, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning.

Kupat Holim Information Centre Tel. 03-433300, 433500 Sunday, Thursday, 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. Friday 8 a.m. to 3 p.m.

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U.S. shows new understanding of 'legitimate self-defence'

By WOLF BLITZER
Post Washington Correspondent

LAST APRIL'S U.S. bombing of terrorist targets in Libya is beginning to have important political benefits for Israel in Washington. This was underlined this week at the U.S. Defense Department.

Pentagon spokesman Bob Sims was asked by reporters to comment on Israel's bombing that day of terrorist targets outside Beirut. "We're continuing to monitor the situation," he replied. "But generally, we're concerned about the reports of increasing violence in that troubled region."

Like other spokesmen at the State Department and the White House, Sims urged all parties "to exercise restraint before any actions which lead to violence and the continued suffering of the Lebanese people. We don't believe there is a military solution to the Lebanon problem."

At the Pentagon briefing, Sims was then asked whether Israel's use of U.S.-supplied military equipment during the bombing raid outside Beirut had violated American law. In the past, the Reagan administration before it - had raised the possibility of an Israeli violation of the stipulation that American weaponry be used only in "legitimate self-defence."

But now, the Pentagon spokesman was clearly in an awkward position, as underscored by the following exchange:

Reporter: "Bob, at one time when the Israelis or other people used U.S. equipment for other than de-

fensive purposes, the U.S. would say it was investigating the circumstances to see whether the situation was really one of defence or whether it was an attack, an offensive-type operation. Is that the case here, or we just don't bother any more?"

Sims: "Well, I don't know that - What are you talking about that we should be investigating?"

Reporter: "Well, the arms were sold to Israel for defensive purposes, and I believe they at one time had the limitation that they could only be used for defensive purposes. Does that apply any more?"

Unprepared for and uncomfortable with that kind of questioning, Sims skirted the issue. "I just don't have anything on that for you," he said. He was, of course, very aware of the fact that President Ronald Reagan, in justifying the April bombing of the Libyan targets, had argued "legitimate self-defence."

Thus, the U.S. had accepted the Israeli principle that pre-emptive strikes could indeed be defensive in nature. If Israel knew the locations of terrorist targets in Lebanon, how could the U.S. now criticize Israeli air strikes against them? The U.S. had earlier done the same thing. The

point was obvious to everyone at the press briefing.

ISRAELI officials were understandably delighted. They had recognized last April that the U.S. bombing of Libya would automatically make it much more difficult for Washington later to hold the issue of "self-defence" over Israel's head.

Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, already at the United Nations for the opening session of the General Assembly, was quick to make the very point during an interview published this week in *The New York Times*.

"You can't call it a bombing," he said of the raid near Beirut, the 10th Israeli air strike on Lebanon this year. "From time to time, there are some defensive actions against terrorist bases, against terrorist attempts against the population of Israel."

State Department officials agreed that the U.S. could no longer easily investigate whether Israel was using American-supplied weaponry in strict self-defence. Israel's legal arguments have been strengthened by the Reagan administration's own

actions.

This is not the first time that the U.S., under Reagan, has used Israeli-style tactics in trying to curtail terrorism. For example, the decision, to force down an Egyptian Air commercial airliner in Italy carrying the Achille Lauro hijackers to freedom, raised all sorts of questions involving international law - just like Israel's decision to force down in Israel a small Syrian business jet carrying Syrian officials who were on their way from Libya to Damascus. Israel, which had suspected that Palestinian terrorists were aboard, quickly allowed the plane and the officials to leave once it was learned that no terrorists were present.

The U.S. did not scold Israel for that action, as it did not criticize the bombing raid in Lebanon this week. Indeed, the Reagan administration has generally been very sensitive to Israel's security concerns stemming from the continued chaos in Lebanon, especially in the south.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in an interview published in *The Wall Street Journal*, referred to the perception in parts of the Arab world that there already was some sort of division of labour between

the U.S. and Israel in the fight against terrorism. The U.S. would deal with the Libyan threat, while Israel would handle Syria. Even if that were not the case, Rabin noted, the perception alone might deter the Syrians and the Libyans.

Asked about any such formal division of labour, Prime Minister Shimon Peres denied it existed. But he confirmed that "today our two countries act closely on terrorism." In an interview published in "Newsweek," he added: "But I think the time has come to establish an international anti-terror alliance. Organizations such as Nato were established at a different time for a different danger. But on this most burning issue, we do not have the proper organized effort to meet the danger."

Addressing the UN General Assembly this week, President Reagan once again issued a hard-line, Israeli-style warning against terrorism. "No cause, no grievance can justify it," he said. "It is the crime of cowards, cowards who prey on the innocent, the defenseless, and the helpless."

"With its allies and other nations, the United States has taken steps to

counter terrorism directly, particularly state-sponsored terrorism. Last May, the United States demonstrated that it will defend its interests and act against terrorist aggression. And let me assure all of you today - especially let me assure any potential sponsors of terrorism - that the American people are of one mind on this issue. Like other civilized peoples of the world, we have reached our limit. Attacks against our citizens or our interests will not go unaverted. We will also do all in our power to help other law-abiding nations threatened by terrorist attacks."

STILL, despite that kind of strong rhetoric, there is by no means a complete identity of views between Washington and Jerusalem on how best to end terrorism. This is especially true when it comes to the problems facing Israel along its northern border, including the continued presence of Unifil in south Lebanon.

Thus, the U.S. abstained this week from - rather than vetoed - a UN Security Council resolution calling on Israel to withdraw its troops from the "security zone" in southern

Lebanon and permit Unifil troops to move up to the Israeli border. The 14 other Security Council members voted for the French-sponsored resolution.

U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters explained that while Washington supports the Unifil contribution to the stability of southern Lebanon, "it is not Israel that is killing and wounding the soldiers of Unifil." He also endorsed the Israeli argument that the redeployment of the UN force could not end the attacks on it. He said it was not realistic to demand an Israeli withdrawal in the absence of an agreement between Israel and Lebanon on arrangements that would secure both northern Israel and southern Lebanon.

At the State Department the next day, spokesman Charles Redman reinforced that line of thinking. "To call for the immediate deployment of Unifil to the border in the absence of such measures is not realistic and would solve none of the underlying problems of instability and lack of central authority that plague south Lebanon," he said. "Without a comprehensive agreement on security measures, it is important that all parties exercise maximum restraint in southern Lebanon. It is especially vital that the criminal attacks on Unifil itself cease."

But despite some differences over the value of Unifil, Washington and Jerusalem, on the whole, are increasingly seeing eye-to-eye on this sensitive question of fighting terrorism, including on the active use of armed force.

TENNIS

'Martina's defection improved Czech players' lot'

BOSTON (AP). - It all seemed routine for Hana Mandlikova - a trip to promote a tournament at a news conference, then a visit a few months later to play in that tournament.

It wasn't always so easy for tennis players from Czechoslovakia to get around. Then Martina Navratilova defected to the United States.

"She opened the door for the other players," Mandlikova said. "The government realized that if they would be very strict and make trouble for the other players they would do the same thing."

"They would defect because they want to prove themselves outside that they are good players."

She was speaking at a news conference this week publicizing the Virgi-

nia Slims of New England, scheduled to be held November 4 through 10 in nearby Worcester.

The 24-year-old Mandlikova, who is five years younger than Navratilova, said conditions in her homeland have changed since Navratilova, who became an American citizen in 1981, defected.

"I'm not saying that 10 or 12 years ago I wouldn't do the same thing that Martina did. That means defect," Mandlikova said. "Martina had reasons for it. They (Czech officials) didn't allow her to do certain things. She couldn't keep her money."

"So I might do the same thing 12 years ago, but not now because I have no trouble with that, with the government or anybody else. So

there's no basic reason to do anything like that. I can do anything I want."

She said the freedom to travel and keep the money they earn contributes to the influx of good Czech tennis players, such as Helen Sukova, into international tennis.

"We are not any special country or anything like that," she said. "It's the only sport (in Czechoslovakia in which) you can make money, you can travel free, you can do basically whatever you want if you are the best. You have to prove yourself first in your country. You have to win tournaments... and then you are allowed to travel."

Navratilova, Pam Shriver and Gabriela Sabatini of Argentina also are entered in the

\$250,000 Worcester event scheduled two weeks before the \$1 million Virginia Slims Championships in New York.

Mandlikova withdrew from the Virginia Slims of New England in Boston last January with a rotator cuff injury and has been plagued by an ankle problem recently. She lost in the fourth round of the U.S. Open to Wendy Turnbull.

Despite those troubles, she isn't conceding the Worcester tournament to Navratilova, the defending champion.

"When Martina was beating everybody, one and two, two years ago I always believed I could beat her or Chris (Evert Lloyd) or anybody else. I think that's a good attitude to have," Mandlikova said.

Although she wants to beat Navratilova, she is grateful for what Navratilova has done for Czech players.

"Martina made the first step," Mandlikova said. "It's unfortunate

that it had to be her, but she absolutely helped us."

In July, Mandlikova married Jan Sedlak, an Australian who was born in Czechoslovakia. But she said she has no intention of abandoning her national identity.

"I always want to be able to go back to my own country because deep down I'll always stay Czech," she said. "Whatever nationality or whatever I'm going to become, if I'm going to become, still, in my heart, I'm going to stay Czech."

"I believe if you're born somewhere, you stay Czech, you stay German, you stay American. So I don't try to change that."

Health Minister to appeal re-start of Reading station

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Health Minister Gur is to demand that a decision by the Ministerial Economic Committee to re-start the operation of the Reading Gimmel power station in Tel Aviv be overturned. Experts in his ministry say implementation would pose a serious environmental hazard.

Gur is to appeal the decision before the cabinet next week.

The ministry spokesman explained yesterday that Gur had been unable to take part in the committee's discussions on the North Tel Aviv power station this week because he had had to attend meetings of the Knesset Labour and Social Welfare Committee on the nurses' dispute.

Gur was "shocked" that the committee had made its decision in his absence.

Two months ago, the Energy Ministry asked the Health Ministry to set up a panel of experts to investigate the effects of the power station on the environment. The panel is chaired by Dr. Shmuel Brander, head of the ministry's institute

for environmental health. Its final report, a "comprehensive survey" of the station's effects, will not be ready for another month.

But so far, the experts have agreed that the power station should operate only in security emergencies, and not during electricity emergencies. When power is in short supply, other sources should provide it, the panel members believe.

The Health Ministry spokesman described the panel as "furious" that a decision had been taken before it was able to present a report. The premature decision is seen as "a slap in the face."

The Energy Ministry spokesman commented that the station would be run on two gas turbines only a "few hours a year for emergency use." He said that his ministry would fulfil all the requirements of the Tel Aviv Municipality and the Technion in Haifa, which is to "study the matter."

Meanwhile, MK Mordechai Virshupsky (Shinui) has demanded the convening of the Knesset Interior Committee to discuss the ministerial committee's decision.

CRICKET

Australia deny Indian charge of gamesmanship in Test tie

NEW DELHI (Reuters). - Australia yesterday denied Indian press charges of unsporting behavior in Monday's historic tied test match in Madras.

Australian tour manager Alan Crompton described as nonsense allegations that captain Allan Border and spinners Greg Matthews and Geoff Boycott, who each took five wickets, deliberately tried to distract India's batsmen during the final tense overs.

"No gamesmanship was employed by the Australian team," Crompton said from the southern city of Hyderabad where the third one-day international will be played today.

Indian press reports accused Border of arguing with the umpires and delaying play after each delivery at India chased a target of 248 on the final day of the first Test. They were all out for 347 off the second last ball of the match, making it only the second tie in Test history.

The other tie was between Australia and the West Indies in Brisbane in 1969. That also took place in the penultimate ball and the Australian team included Bobby Simpson, who, in his capacity as cricket manager of the current team, was present to watch yesterday's drama.

There was a hold-up after almost every delivery as the Australians raised one dispute after another," wrote Sunder Rajan in *The Times of India*.

"They were taunting the players

and arguing with the umpires... trying to stem the flow of runs and disrupt the batsmen's concentration."

"On an unforgettable day their unpardonable gamesmanship left a bitter taste in the mouth," the newspaper added.

Boycott will go

LEEDS (AFP). - Geoff Boycott's remaining supporters on Yorkshire's cricket committee are ready to accept the decision to dismiss the 45-year-old opening batsman.

Former cricket chairman, Tony Vann, said after the decision to discontinue with Boycott: "I accept the decision with regret and sadness, but that is democracy and I do not foresee any rebellion in the winter months."

Peter Briggs, one of the leading figures in the reform group which brought about Boycott's reinstatement and the overthrow of the old committee two years ago, is thinking along similar lines so it looks certain that Yorkshire chairman Brian Walsh's hopes of avoiding another turbulent winter will be realised.

Boycott has made no statement about his future plans.

SOCCER

Soviet Union Iceland shock

REYKJAVIK (Reuters). - The Soviet Union, one of the most impressive teams during the early rounds of the World Cup finals in Mexico, were held to a 1-1 draw by Iceland in their European soccer Championship Group Three qualifying tie here on Wednesday night. The result meant that Iceland went top of the groups with two points from two games.

Iceland, playing with confidence gained from their goalless draw with European champions France earlier this month, opened the scoring in the 29th minute through Arnor Gudjohnsen.

After seeking out most of the early pressure, Iceland took the lead with a breakaway attack. Peter Petersen combined with Gudjohnsen to create the goal and the dangerous striker scored from three metres out.

The goal the Soviet Union deserved finally came in the 44th minute when Salnikov found a hole in the otherwise tight but leaky Icelandic defence and scored a low shot past Sigurdsson.

After the interval, both teams attacked hard in search of a winning goal, but, in spite of several near-misses, neither goalkeeper was severely tested.

After the match, both teams attacked hard in search of a winning goal, but, in spite of several near-misses, neither goalkeeper was severely tested.



HIGH JINK: Spain's Julio Salinas (left) and Greece's Ksantopoulos (right) jump for ball over their team mates, Francisco of Spain (left) and Mimos of Greece in the match in Gijon on Wednesday night. Spain won 3-1. (Reuters)

Golfing upset

ST. ANDREWS (AFP). - The longed-for showdown between Australian Greg Norman and Spain's Severiano Ballesteros to determine the world's leading golfer must wait.

Ireland wrecked the possibility of a Dunhill Cup semifinal shoot-out between golf's two biggest guns by upsetting sixth seed Spain in the first round of the world's richest tournament here yesterday.

The heroes of the outsiders' memorable 2-1 success were Roman Rafferty and Des Smyth, who turned over Europe's two golfers - Ballesteros and Jose-Maria Olazabal - in superb style.

Rafferty was in particularly dashing form, shooting a five-under-par 67 in the first match to humble Ballesteros by seven strokes.

Soviet team confess to soccer bribery racket

MOSCOW (Reuters). - A team of Soviet soccer players have confessed to involvement in a bribery racket because they believed their manager was pocketing money they gave him to bribe referees, an official newspaper has disclosed.

Sovetskaya Rossiya said players from third-division Stroitel Cheropovets, 375 km north of Moscow, had sent officials a letter describing how team manager Gennady Gagarinsky bribed referees.

Gagarinsky had also kept a notebook in which he named referees he bribed and described how he had discussed the size of the bribes before matches and later handed over payment in hotels, in the street or in the changing room, it said.

The players had decided to disclose the racket because they became suspicious of Gagarinsky when they lost a match after giving him money to bribe the referee, it said.

The daily said officials had not decided whether they would be able to punish those involved.

It gave no details about when the racket had begun or how the team had fared.

Lifetime supply of golf balls

TOTNES, England (AP). - Wally Edwards' hobby has left relatives trying to decide what to do with the 6,000 golf balls found in bags, buckets, cupboards and drawers at his home after he died at the age of 82.

Edwards, a keen golfer, trained a succession of pet dogs over 20 years to sniff out lost balls in a field by a golf club in Lymington, about 40 kms southeast of London.

His son, John, and daughter-in-law, Frankie, already have stored some 2,500 of the balls in the garage of their home in Totnes in southwestern England.

But they still have to figure out what to do with the other 3,500 found at Edwards' home.

The 6,000 balls were just the ones Edwards had in the house when he died this summer. He had sold many thousands more.

"We couldn't believe how many there were," Mrs. Edwards said. "They were in cupboards all over the house and in the shed."

"He hoarded them and loved them dearly,"

The party's over for Boris Becker double

BONN (AFP). - Boris Becker's manager Ion Tiriac is to sue a man who has been masquerading as the Wimbledon champion in Hamburg hotels and night clubs.

"Every night he goes out to Hamburg's fashionable discotheques and drinks, smokes and signs autographs," said the angry Tiriac, who feels the antics of Becker's double are harming the player's reputation.

Christoph Maier, a 20-year-old whose home town of Ludwigsbafen is not far from Becker's birthplace of Leipzig, has a similar profile and golden blond hair, but is 10cm. shorter than the 1.91m. two-time Wimbledon winner.

Maier has earned as much as 3,000 marks (\$1,500) dollars a day by acting as Becker in publicity work.

Becker said: "It's unpleasant to have someone cashing in on his resemblance to you when you personally have to work hard for a living."

Record: 48 holes-in-one

DALLAS (AP). - Mancil Davis has hit his 48th hole-in-one, breaking his old record of 47 set a year ago, according to the National Hole-in-one Association.

Davis, 32, hit the new professional golfing record on the par 3, 155-yard 8th hole at the Pedernales Country Club in Spicewood, Texas, on Wednesday, said John Everhard, president of the association.

Everhard said that Davis hit No. 47 on August 21, 1985, at the Woodlands near Houston.

Pro-Jordanian shake-up at An-Najah University

By JOEL GREENBERG

A group of pro-Jordanian Palestinians has been appointed to head An-Najah University in Nablus in an administrative shakeup engineered by Jordan, according to informed Israeli and Palestinian sources.

The new appointments were announced on Wednesday by An-Najah, traditionally a hotbed of Palestinian nationalist activism. The chairman of the university's board of trustees, Hikmat al-Masri, who is a member of the Jordanian senate, was reportedly pressured to make

the personnel changes.

The appointments followed the resignation of university president Dr. Munzir Salah and its spokesman, Dr. Saeb Erakat. Palestinian sources said Jordan had pressed for the resignations of both men, who are PLO supporters.

Salah was this week prevented by Israel from entering the West Bank on the grounds that he did not have a valid working permit. Security sources said the permit had not been renewed because Salah had engaged in political activity.

2 petrol bombs hurled at Israeli bus in Nablus

By JOEL GREENBERG

Two petrol bombs were thrown near the Nablus hospital yesterday at an Israeli bus carrying pupils to Elon Moreh. There were no casualties, but a bus window was smashed.

An IDF patrol at the scene fired in the air to disperse the attackers, who

fled to the casbah. The area was closed and searched.

Disturbances in Rafiah, in the Gaza Strip, resumed yesterday when pupils demonstrated against Israeli rule in the area. The windows of an Israeli car were smashed but no one was injured.



GRACEFUL. - South Korea's Seo Seon Ang displays her form which earned her the gold medal and 1st place in the women's balance beam competition at the 1986 Asian Games.

Visiting S.A. schools tennis team in good form

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. - The South African schools national boys' tennis team are spending 10 days here, in a programme combining four friendly matches against their Israeli Tennis Centre hosts with training at the ITC's Ramat Hasharon headquarters. The guests, who comprise the Republic's six under-18 juniors, started their tour in style on Tuesday by overwhelming Ramat Hasharon 7-2 and then on Wednesday crushed Jaffa 11-0.

The trip was arranged privately, with its sponsors including ITC supporters in South Africa. Tennis Centre executive president Ian Froman said yesterday.

The itinerary ends next Monday with a match against an ITC selected. The games between the Israeli and South African have no official status, Froman stressed.

This is the second trip here of the South African Schools team under its manager Geoff Thompson. In all, over the past six years eight teams of tennis juniors from the Republic have toured Israel under various schemes. A similar number of ITC groups have visited South Africa on a reciprocal basis.

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What's needed to continue economic success

Israel has successfully passed the first stage of its economic stabilization programme, thanks in no small measure to American advice, promptings and assistance. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim is now in the U.S. for talks and the indications are that American ideas of how Israel should proceed economically are unlikely to meet resistance. Jerusalem Post Economics Editor Shlomo Maoz reports from Washington.

ENCOURAGING a dream that became a reality, the Americans and Israelis are now looking for the next appropriate economic plan. Riding the crest of their astonishing success - decreasing inflation from an annual rate of 1,000 per cent to a mere 20 per cent, while simultaneously improving the civilian deficit in the balance of payments by more than \$1 billion without pushing up unemployment - they are now seeking to promote substantial economic growth.

There is no way to enjoy low inflation and the possibility of desired growth without maintaining current exchange-rate policy - keeping rates frozen. Given the economic and political situations, the government need not - and cannot - devalue the shekel. Foreign exchange reserves have risen, while external debts have contracted. What is more, the incoming Likud govern-

ment, even if tempted for some reason to devalue, cannot afford to fail where Shimon Peres has succeeded so triumphantly.

In two years' time, it must also be remembered, redemption of the government's arrangement bank shares will also be under way, again necessitating the holding of exchange rates at current levels.

But the public, and especially the large companies which have their own analysts, have to be convinced that no devaluation is planned. Otherwise their transactions might jeopardize Treasury policy.

Even the Israeli government's firm intentions are not sufficient guarantees, however. Goodwill on the part of the Americans is also required.

THERE IS something of a paradox

in the Reagan administration's attitude to the volume of aid needed by Israel. The U.S. has warned that Israel should not consider the \$1.5b. granted over the past two fiscal years as a permanent arrangement. Yet both parties know that this special aid was the main factor in enabling the Peres government to put an end to the continued unsuccessful devaluations that had caused Israel's intolerable inflation.

The Americans, of course, have their own economic woes. On the one hand, the administration has had to promise to cut its budget, including foreign aid. On the other hand, the Americans do recognize the importance of a stable economy as the basis of a strong Israel in a hostile region.

Israel and the U.S., therefore, are both looking for ways to increase the resources at this country's disposal

without raising the annual \$3b. economic and military aid figure.

Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin has already been trying to convince the Reagan administration that Israel should not pay taxes on its American-made fighter planes. If this concession is granted, we will have more of the \$1.8b. military aid to spend on other items. In this way, the IDF could compensate, at least partially, for the \$500m. cut in the defence budget over the past two years.

On his visit to the U.S., Peres was given a promise that Israel's external debt burden would be eased by the Americans' reducing interest rates on monies owed to them. Such a step would be the first sign of the sort of backing Israel so badly needs if it is to achieve long-term growth. Meanwhile, it seems that the Israeli public has finally been persuaded that stability is here to stay. The rate of the "black dollar" has dropped far below both the official travellers' rate and the export-incentive rate.

THE SPOILT manufacturers don't like the fixed-rate idea - it has harmed the profitability of their exports. For many years they benefited from the government's heavy protection. Whatever happened, their profits were guaranteed. If European currencies failed, they got com-

pensation for exporting to Europe. When the dollar dropped, they were compensated for exporting to America.

Now, these enterprises will have to stand on their own feet, rationally calculating their own futures. Since inflation has been curbed, the ability of producers to manipulate consumers and the government has shrunk.

THE ISRAELI government has been pushed by U.S. advisers Stanley Fisher and Herbert Stein to reduce its role in the capital market - where its control was almost total - and this has forced a corresponding change in industrialists' approach. They are gradually being compelled to compete for the money they need to run their firms, because the government is cutting back on easy state money.

The Treasury's policy shift was apparent last month when, instead of absorbing money from the public as was its custom, it actually injected money into the economy. The aim is to route savers' money to fill the business sector's needs. But it should be emphasized that the public has a third option in addition to consumption and investment in government or business. It is an option with which the cognoscenti are very familiar: buying durables, cars, etc., that drain foreign-currency reserves,

thus throwing the economy into chaos.

Fortunately there are now sufficient currency reserves to cover such a sudden increase in foreign purchasing. Government sources have told *The Jerusalem Post* that there are in fact sufficient reserves for a two-year run on the dollar.

Actually, the government should not be under too much pressure for foreign currency, since the public has been using its undisclosed savings - under the "balava" saving scheme - on "black" and "white" dollars.

If we look closer, we find that the Treasury benefits from the new prosperity. It collects huge amounts in taxes on imported durables - each dollar effectively sells for 100-200 per cent more than its official exchange rate. This huge increase in taxation revenue has allowed the Treasury to consider easing the tax burden slightly, with plans to bring down income-tax brackets in January and also to reduce government demands on the capital market. Thus manufacturers' costs would not go up, while employees would get an increased cost of living allowance.

THE NEED to pay cost of living allowances means that we still have some inflation - running at about 1.5 per cent per month. This inflation

and the correspondingly high rate of interest, do not produce the ideal environment for investment and consequent growth.

Bank of Israel Governor Prof. Michael Bruno has demanded that inflation be brought down to something around 5 per cent a year. On this he is opposed by Treasury officials worried over the effect such low inflation would have on the unemployment rate. The question of an optimum inflation rate may well arise in forthcoming talks in Washington with American officials and experts Fisher and Stein.

Another topic expected to crop up is whether the tax relief should be implemented, as the Americans expressly demand, in January - the new start of the Israeli fiscal year - or whether it should be postponed to a future date, as Finance Minister Moshe Nissim tends to feel.

The first stage of the stabilization plan conceived by Fisher and Stein was successful only because the Americans insisted on its comprehensive implementation. In the light of that success, the Americans will be even more insistent on continued adherence to the 10 Fisher-Stein points. However, they may not need to exert much pressure for, by the same token, Israeli opposition to the American plans has virtually disappeared.

Small towns: like costly children

David Krivine / Purse strings

IF WE seek reasons for Israel's chronic budget deficits we might do worse than to consider the nation's obsession with building townships. Twenty-five were created in the 1950s, when a half-dozen would have been ample.

That was just in the development areas. I do not include sub-cities put up in the central regions of the country like Or Akiva or Or Yehuda or Beit Dagan. Nor do I take notice of the urban villages that have sprung up like mushrooms since 1967 all over the administered areas.

Regardless of the fact that a number of the development towns never found their feet and remained the urban equivalent of social cases, the authorities had the bright idea in the Seventies of adding *mitzpin* (look-out spots) in Galilee. The excuse was to avoid land-grabs by the polluting Arab population.

Mitzpin are exclusive, higher quality-of-life hamlets containing 25-30 families. Residents are attracted by cheap villas and coun-

try air. They do not farming but commute by car to work elsewhere, thus adding to the traffic on the roads. The local district councils must supply school buses, garbage disposal and other services at great expense.

There is no polluting Arab population outside the Galilee, yet townships have to be built all the same, so what are they called? *Yishuvim kehilati'im* (community settlements), that is the new name, and they are shooting up all over the place.

We are talking of towns and urban villages, not agricultural settlements. But among the existing settlements not all will remain agricultural. A growing number of *moshavim* are being urbanized and themselves becoming community settlements.

IN SHORT, the number of inhabited localities which have nothing to do with farming is climbing at an astonishing pace. If ever there was a

prodigious waste of money, this is it. The excuse is that we have to cover the ground with settlements for security purposes, but the ground is covered adequately already.

There are 969 localities inhabited by Jews, and that is inside the Green Line. The size of Israel is 8,000 square miles, so we have one Jewish town or village every eight square miles, which seems more than sufficient.

Too many towns means that most of them would be small. Agricultural settlements need to be small and dispersed because each farming family requires a lot of land.

Towns play a different role. Experience shows that until they reach a certain size they remain lame ducks. The attraction of a village is farming, and that offers a life-style of its own. The town dweller has no land. What attracts him are the amenities of city life.

Over 100,000 would-be residents have passed through Kiryat Shmona, yet only 16,000 have stayed. The others left for bigger places like Ashdod or Jaffa. A city must offer gainful employment and at the same time supply a full range of the ser-

vices to which any townsman feels entitled. Kiryat Shmona is too small to offer these amenities in full.

The farm village, too is not self-sufficient. It needs an urban centre within reach to supplement the meagre local services. The township is assisted by the purchasing-power of the surrounding villagers who pay for such services. But few of the unpeopled townships we are discussing are equipped with an agricultural periphery.

By scattering townships throughout the country, the government failed to disperse the population because nobody wants to live in a small place that is neither a farm village nor a fully-fledged town. The majority of the population remains concentrated in the three major cities.

SMALL TOWNS, like small children, are costly. But children grow up and learn to be independent. Towns that remain small continue to be a burden on the Treasury. Some have expanded: Ashkelon (55,000 inhabitants - according to December 31, 1984, statistics), Ashdod (69,000) and Beersheba (115,000) are now full-grown and self-reliant

municipalities. Eilat (19,000) is still low in population and - being very distant from the centre - relies on the Treasury. As a major tourist centre, however, it is a tremendous dollar earner and its future seems assured.

What about Shlomi in the north (less than 5,000 inhabitants), Beit Shmesh in the centre (13,600), Yeroham in the south (6,400)? They are expensive to maintain because goods and services have to be brought over greater distances, yet they yield little income with which to pay these costs.

The government spends a fortune coaxing corporations to build factories there, but industrial development does not take root.

One reason is that the aid system has become inequitable. There is a clear division between successful and unsuccessful townships. The successful ones have nurtured a vigorous leadership. Their young mayors are involved in national politics and make sure their cities get maximal industrial and other subsidies.

This is not fair to the weaker brethren. If an industrialist is offered the same tax rebate in Ashkelon as in Mitzpe Ramon, he will go to Ashkelon. If he enjoys the same privileges in Nahariya as in Hatzor, he will go to Nahariya.

There is a feeling among civil servants that the townships which

are doing well should receive lower or even no subsidies so that the unsuccessful ones may have a better chance.

But in the Likud-Labour coalition, politics is everything. There used to be a Ministerial Committee for Development Towns, but it has not operated since 1981. Each minister makes his own deals, and the mayors know how to promote their interests. Small, remote places have no bargaining power.

One committee after another tries to devise a new grading scheme so that assistance should be proportional to genuine need. But every political faction pulls its own way and no agreement has been achieved so far.

Even if an agreement is reached, the remedy may be worse than the sickness. We are talking of subsidies, and subsidies of this kind are a confession of failure. Towns that still require heavy support from the Treasury after 30 years are a liability; and there is no end to it.

IF THE authorities could have their time over again and replan the development areas with the advantage of hindsight, they might decide as follows. In the north the necessary towns are Nahariya, Acre, Afula, Carmiel, Safad, Nazareth, Tiberias and Kiryat Shmona.

In the centre and south, the necessary towns are Ashdod, Ashkelon, Kiryat Gat, Mitzpe Ramon (substi-

tuting for Dimona and Arad) and Eilat. Not necessary are the rest: Kiryat Malachi, Shderot, Netivot, Ofakim and Yeroham.

Some of the towns that could have been dispensed with have acquired a foothold. But in conversations with officials I could find no one who harboured optimism about any of the following places: Shlomi, Hatzor, Beit Shmesh, Shderot, Netivot, Ofakim, Yeroham or Mitzpe Ramon.

What do we do with them? Closing them down is not on the agenda; officials are appalled at the very idea. The chief objection seems to be that the inhabitants would refuse to go. They have become attached to their home towns.

It would certainly be expensive to tempt them away, but is it not more expensive still to leave them where they are? The subject deserves systematic study, with Yeroham, say as a test case. What are the economic pros and cons of evacuating the place, dismantling its buildings and letting the site return to nature?

Israel has little land and is using it up wastefully. As things are going, the country soon will become one huge conurbation interspersed with parks and green patches. Extensive empty spaces are necessary. They are the lungs of the nation. We really do not need a concrete phalanx every 15-20 kilometres. Where are our town-planners to say these things?

Things are moving on the Exchange

Pinhas Landau / Jerusalem Post Reporter

YOSSI NITZANI, the general manager of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, would like to be optimistic about developments in and around the Exchange, but experience has taught him to be very cautious in his assessments. Nevertheless, in the course of a recent wide-ranging interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Nitzani couldn't help but register satisfaction with the direction in which things are moving, if not yet at the pace of movement.

The Tase is a self-regulating body, meaning it sets its own rules for trading and so on, but these have to be approved by the Treasury, at ministerial level, and the exchange is overseen by a separate government agency, the Securities Authority. To these may be added the Bank of Israel, which has a great deal of influence in the bond market, since that is composed primarily of government bonds. The central bank also has a regulatory role over the commercial banks, which are in turn the dominant members of the exchange and, at least until the bank share collapse of October 1983, called the tune on the Exchange's board of directors.

This complex and intertwining series of relationships, the ugly and incompetent side of which was revealed in the Bejski Commission's hearings, makes life very difficult for the party with the least clout and independent power, which is almost certainly the Tase.

However, the Exchange has certain compensatory advantages. Its management has a fairly clear idea of where it wants to go to, and can concentrate its efforts single-mindedly on that task. All the others, especially the Treasury and the Bank of Israel, have inconsistent or even conflicting goals regarding the stock exchange, as ministers and senior officials come and go, and policies and circumstances change. Furthermore, they have many other, and to them more important, concerns than the share and bond markets: the Tase is totally self-centred, and this motivates it to step in where others, angels or otherwise, fear to tread.

The question of how the Treasury, Bank of Israel, Securities Authority and Tase should divide the job of making and enforcing the rules governing registration of shares for trading, method of trading, reporting requirements and all the other things that make up a well-run stock exchange, will take a long time to thrash out.

In the wake of the bank share crash various bodies were set-up, of which the Gabbai Committee reported last year on certain areas, and

the Bejski Commission reported this year, overlapping in some areas and making further recommendations in others; all these are, in turn, being examined by still more committees, and eventually new laws will emerge from the process - maybe.

Nitzani says that the Tase couldn't wait for the bureaucratic wheels to turn: "You had a situation in which there were a long list of things that were not attended to, as a result of the development of the markets in the boom period, and the too-slow process of adjustment on the part of the legal and regulatory authorities."

"Among these, some required urgent attention, such as the problem of conflicts of interest between the owners of a company, who are its major shareholders, and the company itself, which is an independent entity. The owners might, for example, pay themselves enormous salaries or director's fees, or take a percentage of the company's income as management fees, in effect bleeding the firm for their own benefit, and causing a loss to the minority shareholders of the general public."

"Then there were fundamental issues, like the need for outside directors on the boards of stock-exchange registered companies; of a move toward more equal voting rights between different classes of shares or, if possible, having firms' equity comprised of only one class of shares. All these are the sort of thing that unless you have rules about, you can't really maintain a proper market."

But because no one took this responsibility, the exchange therefore moved to stop up the gaps, although it took on the role reluctantly and would, Nitzani says, gladly transfer its authority on some of these items to other bodies, if they were willing and able to take them on. Discussions are taking place with the Securities Authority, the Treasury and the Justice Ministry regarding the new or amended laws needed to cover these and other matters, especially those arising from the Gabbai and Bejski reports but, and here Nitzani exercises deliberate restraint, "The discussions are dragging on, and the legislation is being held up."

Therefore the exchange has made its own rules wherever possible, although it has been severely criticized from some quarters for pushing itself into areas that are beyond its purview. Nitzani's defence is terse and to the point: "No body else was prepared to take a stand. I hate to think how the markets would look today if we hadn't been so active in the last two to three years. Even now they're not in good

shape, but they are less bad than they would have been."

THIS IS a theme that Nitzani kept returning to; that the markets are far from satisfactory now, but they are improved, or "less bad" as he cautiously put it, compared to the wide-open, rip-roaring days that preceded the crashes of 1983. What he won't say openly is that the humbling of the banks was the factor that opened the way for major changes in the Tase. But he doesn't deny it, either, and the addition of outside directors to the Exchange's board, so that the banks no longer have control, is the most eloquent testimony to the true feeling of the Tase management in that regard. The banks themselves, it must be said, have a more positive and less selfish approach to the exchange, and Nitzani applauded the recent decisions by Bank Leumi to stop trading shares on its own account and to withdraw share counselling services from its branches and concentrate them in a separate brokerage subsidiary.

Discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of brokerage outfits, whether intra-bank, extra-bank or non-bank, leads inevitably to the scandal that rocked the exchange in March this year, when the FIT brokerage firm collapsed literally overnight, after its owners fled the country, allegedly with \$12 million of their customers' money. Nitzani ticks off the numerous lessons that the exchange was taught by FIT and the changes that have been made as a consequence.

The relevant chapter in the exchange's own rule-book, referring to internal control procedures, has been rewritten and considerably tightened up. A committee headed by the president of the accountant's institute is working on new rules governing the activities of non-bank exchange members, who have no other regulatory body overseeing them. Among other things, this will determine the kind of businesses that a company that is an exchange member may be involved in, since it was FIT's extra-mural activities that led to its demise.

Meanwhile, the exchange has ordered all its members to deposit all the securities they hold, on behalf of whomsoever, in the exchange's in-house clearing system and, similarly, to deposit all the certificates of units in mutual funds that they manage. This will make it impossible for them to be used for any untoward purpose, such as collateral for loans. The exchange management has also hardened its reporting requirements for members, interns of the "kashrut certificates" they must obtain from their accountants, concerning their financial stability.

All these, and whatever other steps are decided upon, are inevit-

ably a process of slamming the stable door shut after the horse has already made off, as Nitzani reluctantly admits. But, he points out, if the owners of a firm are determined to rob their shareholders and customers, and are sophisticated enough, there is almost no way they can be prevented.

On a happier note, Nitzani reports that the data base that the Tase has been working on for over two years is now nearing completion. This is of great importance, because all the members, including the banks, are relying on it to be able to provide their customers with data on share trading and regarding individual companies. However, the Bank of Israel-imposed deadline of November 11, 1986, by when the banks' securities counsellors must be equipped with complete information or else they will not be allowed to give advice, will not be met. At the earliest, the data base will be operating early in 1987. Nitzani, like most people, assumes that the Bank of Israel will have to be less sticky and relax its deadline, or else the market will simply stop dead on the deadline.

The other looming major development is the introduction of a new trading system. The present one, in which all orders are pooled and the aggregate demand or supply in each security is bid for or offered against by all the brokers simultaneously, and a single price is fixed for all transactions in a given trading day, has long been considered unsatisfactory. Reform attempts, however, were stymied by the banks, the private brokers, or both.

Now a new system is being experimented with, wherein at least 30 of the widely-traded shares will be traded over an extended period, with each transaction being between two brokers and having its own price. The key factor needed here is on-line communications between brokerage offices and the trading floor; once these are ready the system should be ready for live testing.

Finally, and despite the obvious incongruity of introducing sophistication to the still-backward Tase, Nitzani notes that the possibility of trading additional types of financial instruments is being studied. In particular, he believes that the emergence of genuine institutional investors over the next few years will encourage the use of options and futures contracts on stock indices, as a method of hedging large portfolios. The exchange has already received a legal opinion that such instruments would be legal under existing laws. That doesn't make their appearance imminent, but the mere fact that such things can be considered shows that things are changing, and rapidly too, in the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

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MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Profit scoreboard

Yesterday the round of bank-share results mercifully came to a close. The end was the worst part, although none of it was very good. The series of half-yearly figures opened tolerably, with First International showing lower, but still good profits, but the meagre profits of Bank Discount—really a loss if account is taken of the reduction in capital caused by the dollar's fall against the inflation-adjusted shekel—showed that all was not well.

Leumi and Hapoalim both scraped together some kind of profit, but it was too low to be considered satisfactory. Finally, Mizrahi proved that it is still in by far the worst shape of any of the big banks.

But not of all the banks. For sheer loss-making, Mizrahi was far outdone by Israel General Bank, which produced yet another appalling set of figures, showing a loss of NIS 3 million, up from NIS 1m. equivalent last year, and representing a reduction of over 10 per cent of the bank's capital. Israel General has been losing money for the last two-and-a-half years, and each time they think up another excuse to explain the loss away. This time the management noted that they succeeded in firing 19 per cent of their total work-force in the course of six months—a remarkable achievement in its own right—and that the need to pay hefty redundancy and compensation terms weighed heavily on expenses. Of course, the hope is that henceforth the bank will change from red to black, but the promises of Israel General have worn somewhat thin.

The main shareholder, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, keeps pumping in more money to top up the bank's capital, and Deputy Chairman and Managing Director Arnon Gafny and his colleagues keep pouring that money straight down the drain.

One casualty of the shakeout has been Sam Bronfman, formerly with Gafny at the Bank of Israel and more recently a senior executive at Israel General. He has just signed on at the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange as head of the new economic department being set up there.

Poor results were not the monopoly of the banks. Clal Industries Ltd. came in yesterday with a paltry NIS 238,000 net profit, although the bottom line was not the most interesting part. P.T.C. profit was only NIS 1.7m. on a turnover of NIS 287m. or 0.6 per cent. That is bad enough, but even this tiny amount was more than eliminated by a tax bill of NIS 4.7m. and further losses in unconsolidated subsidiaries and other companies amounting to NIS 2.9m.

How then did the firm make any profit? Because the minority shareholders in the loss-making companies absorbed over NIS 6m. of the total losses, leaving Clal Industries itself with a crumb of profit. If that is not clear, don't let it confuse you. The point is that another major company is trading water and wasting time and effort with nothing to show for it, except tax receipts.

Discount Investment Corp. pulled off a similar stunt, scraping together NIS 965,000 net profit from all its operations. This is better than the NIS 580,000 it managed for all of 1985, but hardly an attractive return for NIS 180m. of shareholder's equity tied up in the company. The sparse figures given by DIC, a disgrace in themselves, reveal nothing about what the company did for the first half of this year.

While Clal and Discount were being crucified by their high-tech investments and dollar exports, Dov Autman's Delta Industries Ltd. was asking it in selling socks and underwear to West Germany.

Delta's gross profit increased last year from first-half 1985 to first-half 1986, while net profit zoomed 30 times to NIS 2.35m. Sales, in nominal shekels were NIS 50m. and nominal profits were 8.5 per cent of nominal sales.

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Balanced sheet holds up well

Mizrahi posts loss for half

By PINHAS LANDAU

TEL AVIV. — Bank Mizrahi yesterday announced a net loss of NIS 7.5 million for the first half of 1986, compared with a net profit of NIS 4.2m. for the same period last year. The bank, however, had a pre-tax operating profit of NIS 1.5m., compared with a year-earlier figure of NIS 20.6m. on a restated basis.

The bank's balance sheet dropped by 1.8 per cent, to stand at NIS 8.17 billion. The drop was the smallest in percentage terms of any of the five main banks reporting for the January-June 1986 period. Deposits from the public also fell, by 4.5 per cent, to NIS 3.7b., but Mizrahi scored a success over its rivals by expanding its loan portfolio 4.9 per cent to NIS 4.7b. June 30, from six months earlier. Except First International Bank, the other top five reported a decline.

At all the banks, including Mizrahi, the shrinking balance sheets and deposits bases are, in fact, the result of the dollar's devaluation against the shekel, when measured in inflation-adjusted terms, and do not reflect a decline in the absolute amount of dollar and shekel deposits, taking each currency separately.

The low operating profit of NIS 1.5m. is believed to be due to large write-offs for bad debts, in the wake of the short recession of 1985/6 and the wave of bankruptcies that occurred then.

On its gross profit, Mizrahi paid no tax, and in fact received a refund of NIS 300,000 for overpayment in previous years, giving it post-tax profit of NIS 1.75m. However, the deduction of NIS 7.8m. as part of the bank's programme of gradually writing off the excess value of its investment in its mortgage subsidiary, Bank Tefahot, and further reduction for losses in subsidiaries and one-time expenses, gave rise to the net overall loss of NIS 7.5m.

The Tefahot write-off was necessary because the price paid by Mizrahi to purchase the bank, the biggest mortgage unit in Israel, was far higher than its current real value.

The bank's capital means fell by NIS 12m. to NIS 281m. at the end of the reporting period. Of this, the bulk was the NIS 7.5m. net loss and the remainder stemmed from adjustment of the value of investments in

overseas subsidiaries, made in dollars, to the inflation-adjusted shekel value.

The fact that this adjustment was made in the bank's capital, and not in its profit and loss accounts, is the result of a change in the accounting rules introduced this year. Under the old system this NIS 4.4m. loss would have appeared as part of the general loss, boosting its total to NIS 12m. At its new level, the bank's total capital represents 3.4 per cent of its assets.

At Mizrahi's annual general meeting, that took place yesterday in Jerusalem, an 11-man board was elected which includes five new members. These are Moshe Man, who replaced Aharon Meir in July as managing director; prof. Shlomo Eckstein, an economics lecturer at Bar Ilan University; Gurion Meltzer, chief scientist of Koor Ltd.; Hagai Pini, chairman of the economic committee of the Kibbutz Hadrati movement; and Haim Kubersky, who recently resigned as director-general of the Interior Ministry. Among those not re-elected were Meir and Ya'acov Gadish, of Kvutzat Yavne, a former senior Treasury official.

That prediction was challenged by Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and MK Ran Cohen of the Citizens Rights Movement who said that the government had yet to draw up plans for investment in industry.

Kessar warned that the government was about to "fitter away" the success of the economic programme by its reluctance to stimulate growth. The country faced a real danger of resurgent inflation, he said.

More controls lifted

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Six different goods and services are freed from price controls as of today, the Industry and Trade Ministry announced yesterday. The price of walnuts, pears, processed meat products, stone products, piping services and plaster will no longer be covered by controls.

Meanwhile the Knesset Water Committee yesterday approved an 11 per cent hike in the price of water for private consumers. The increase will be used to fund improvements in the water and sewerage systems of the local authorities.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:

General Share Index	114.78 -0.04%
Non-Bank Index	145.15 -0.27%
Bank Index	101.86 -0.13%
Insurance	157.84 -0.56%
Commerce/Services	173.34 -0.56%
Real Estate	181.19 -0.23%
Industries	130.48 -0.17%
Textiles	183.27 -0.10%
Metals	134.57 -0.15%
Electronics	85.40 -0.85%
Chemicals	135.01 -0.17%
Industrial Invest.	114.13 -0.04%
Investment Cos.	141.56 -0.18%
General Bond Index	108.49 -0.19%
Index-linked Bonds	108.36 -0.11%
Fully-linked	113.33 -0.16%
Partially-linked	108.83 -0.08%
Dollar-linked Bonds	93.48 -0.03%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	108.68 -0.06%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	108.67 -0.05%
Long-term 5+ yrs	104.11 -0.13%

Turnovers:

Shares—total	NIS 5,542,800
Arrangement	NIS 962,800
Non-bank	NIS 5,580,000
Bonds—total	NIS 3,830,900
Index-linked	NIS 3,121,300
Dollar-linked	NIS 708,400
Treasury Bills	NIS 3,047,300
Share Movements:	
Advances	94 (76)
of which 5% +	3 (6)
"buyers only"	19 (10)
Declines	133 (158)
of which 5% +	2 (27)
"sellers only"	18 (2)
Unchanged	100(101)
Trading Halt	87 (89)
Bond Market Trends:	
Index-linked	Mixed to 0.5%
3% fully-linked	Mixed to 0.5%

'Only 25% of prices will be frozen by '87'

By ROY ISACOWITZ

Post Labour Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — By next January only 25 per cent of goods and services will be subject to price controls, Deputy Finance Minister Adiel Amori said yesterday.

Most of the goods that will remain controlled will be subsidized items whose prices will not change, Amori said at a meeting of the council of the Histadrut's Growth and Development Fund.

When the economic recovery programme was introduced in July 1985, 86 per cent of the goods and services were subject to control, Amori said. Today that figure stands at 48 per cent.

Amori conceded that Israel is likely to record zero growth during the current fiscal year, which ends March 30. However, growth could reach 2 or 3 per cent next year if the government succeeds in cutting its budget by \$350 million or \$400m., he said.

That prediction was challenged by Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and MK Ran Cohen of the Citizens Rights Movement who said that the government had yet to draw up plans for investment in industry. Kessar warned that the government was about to "fitter away" the success of the economic programme by its reluctance to stimulate growth. The country faced a real danger of resurgent inflation, he said.

More controls lifted

Jerusalem Post Reporter

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FINANCIAL DATA: ISRAEL, EUROPE, U.S.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES

PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.25% per month

Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	Last Updated	25.8	25.8	25.8	25.8
LEUMI	25.8	7-16.00%	8-16.25%	8-16.25%	8-16.25%
HAPOLIM	25.8	8-15%	10-15.50%	12-15.50%	12-15.50%
DISCOUNT	21.8	8-15%	8-15%	8-15%	8-15%
MIZRAHI	8.5	8-15%	8-15%	8-15%	8-15%
FIRST INT'L	23.7	6-15%	7-15%	7-15%	7-15%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.

(Times: demand deposit paying daily interest.)

(Times: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 60 days.)

PATAH — FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES

(September 25, 1986)

MINIMUM DEP. 3-MONTHS 6-MONTHS 12-MONTHS

USD (\$100,000) 5,500 5,500 5,500

STG (£100,000) 8,000 8,000 8,000

DMK (100,000 marks) 3,750 3,750 3,750

SFR (50,000 francs) 3,375 3,375 3,375

YEN (3,000,000 yen) 3,375 3,375 3,375

ECU 3,375 3,375 3,375

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (September 25)

CURRENCY AND TRANSFERS

Buy Sell Banknotes Rep. Rates

U.S.A. Dollar 1 1.4788 1.4870 1.45 1.4885

Deutsche Mark 1 0.7211 0.7301 0.71 0.7288

Pound Sterling 1 2.1322 2.1598 2.08 2.1489

French Franc 1 0.2201 0.2229 0.21 0.2215

Japanese Yen 100 0.0653 0.0675 0.06 0.0667

Dutch Florin 1 0.0892 0.0902 0.08 0.0894

Swiss Franc 1 0.8891 0.9002 0.87 0.8854

Swedish Krona 1 0.2127 0.2154 0.21 0.2121

Norwegian Krone 1 0.1985 0.2020 0.20 0.2009

Danish Krone 1 0.1908 0.1932 0.19 0.1921

Finnish Mark 1 0.2991 0.3028 0.29 0.3011

Canadian Dollar 1 1.0628 1.0761 1.04 1.0700

Australian Dollar 1 0.8911 0.9247 0.87 0.9372

S. African Rand 1 0.6567 0.6639 0.64 0.6607

Belgian Franc 10 0.3446 0.3489 0.34 0.3456

Austrian Shilling 10 1.0252 1.0380 1.01 1.0321

Italian Lira 1000 1.0433 1.0563 1.02 1.0505

Jordanian Dinar 1 — — 4.20 4.46

Egyptian Pound 1 — — 0.78 0.83

ECU 1 1.5083 1.5281 — —

Rep. rates are for September 24.

SUPPLIED BY BANK LEUMI

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS

(September 25)

PRECIOUS METALS

GOLD: LONDON A.M. FX 429.40 P.M. FX 432.25

PARIS NOON FX 425.45 ZURICH P.M. 430.50

SILVER: LONDON FX 590.25

PLATINUM: LONDON P.M. 585.50

PALLADIUM: LONDON P.M. 139.75

FOREIGN CURRENCY CROSS RATES (London 15.30GMT)

Forward Rates

SPOT 2 MONTHS 3 MONTHS 6 MONTHS

DEUTSCHMARK 2.0485/86 52/47 77/72 150/140

POUND STERLING 1.4360/70 100/98 148/146 273/288

SWISS FRANC 1.6510/25 52/47 81/78 143/135

JAPANESE YEN 8.7150/75 29/27 47/45 83/88

FRENCH FRANC 161.75/76 280/270 520/510

ITALIAN LIRA 1417.25/30 1225/1275 1900/1975 3475/3575

DUTCH GILDER 2.1555/63 28/24 41/37 85/78

BELGIAN FRANC 42.435/45 8.5/10.5 14/17 26/31

DANISH KRONA 7.460/25 400/450 600/650 1250/1350

S.AFRICAN RAND 0.4440/50 48/38 78/68 129/100

EUROPEAN CURRENCY UNIT 1.0222/26 24.52/1.5 36/32 85/80

FINNISH MARK 4.9410/30 800/840 830/880 1620/1720

AUSTRALIAN DOLLAR 0.6257/04 86/83 123/118 213/207

NORWEGIAN KRONA 7.2970/00 980/1000 1480/1510 2965/3005

Formula for determining forward rates:

high/low (eg. 220/210) — deduct from spot price.

low/high (eg. 210/220) — add to spot price.

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS

(September 25)

U.S. MONEY RATES

Prime rate 7.50%; Broker Loan 7.00%-8.75%; NY Euros 3

months 6 1/4% - 5 1/4%; Fed Funds late 5 1/4%

NEW YORK FOREIGN EXCHANGE

PREVIOUS CLOSING 2.0455/65 1.6500/75 1.4465/75 154.10/20 1.3874/78

OPENING 2.0510/20 1.6530/40 1.4430/40 154.70/80 1.3893/95

LATEST 2.0450/60 1.6570/80 1.4345/55 154.50/60 1.3891/86

Comment

The dollar was stuck in a small trading range yesterday, showing little change from Wednesday night's close. Few dealers were prepared to put on fresh positions prior to today's 6-5 meeting and there was no U.S. economic news or comment by U.S. officials to provide interest. There was little reaction to the Bundesbank's decision to leave its policy unchanged.

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Alliance 14 14 14 14 2

Am Int Pap 2 2 2 2 40

Amstar 8 8 8 8 224

Elextron 2 2 2 2 1

Elextron 2 2 2 2 1

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Rotation rumbles

THE CLOSER the rotation gets, the hotter the debate between the Alignment and the Likud grows over the expansion of Jewish settlement in the territories during the next two years. Yesterday it erupted with full force at the Farmers Federation convention held at Kfar Hamaccabia.

In joining the Likud to set up the "national unity government" in September 1984, the Alignment made concessions to its political adversary. None, it may be assumed, were more painful than those that related to the issue of settlement in the West Bank and Gaza. True, the Alignment's very participation in the new government might have been thought an effective bar to a wild settlement spree, for decisions in the matter were to be taken by a majority of ministers.

But the Likud extracted some commitments from the Alignment the realization of which was not to depend on cabinet votes.

The government's policy guidelines stipulated that "five to six" settlements would be established during the government's first year in office, in addition to the continued "development" of existing settlements. In addition, the government was to implement all of the previous Likud government's last-minute pre-election resolutions on new settlements. A total of 27 new settlements was envisaged.

During the past two years only three or four new settlements were actually set up. The Likud did not raise the roof over this failure, and even Gush Emunim lay low.

The expenditure of scarce funds on villages in Judea and Samaria at a time when health and education and even defence were taking one budgetary beating after another, would not have been a popular move even for firm believers in a Greater Eretz Yisrael. But now that the economy is more or less on its feet again after a bout of Likud profligacy, and the rotation is approaching, the settlement chickens are coming home to roost.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the premier designate, has lately been going around spreading the promise of a great settlement drive after October 14 - "within the framework of our economic limitations and the coalition agreement." Mr. Shamir's fellow Herutnik Mattityahu Drobles, who heads the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, has come up with an actual plan for 21 new settlements - 19 in Judea and Samaria, and two in the Gaza District - by 1988, apart from the original "five to six."

At Kfar Hamaccabia yesterday Mr. Drobles explained why Israel cannot do without new settlements. It must have them because, he said, they alone make concrete and indubitable the Jewish People's right to its Land, and because they alone will prevent the rise of a PLO state in Judea and Samaria that will seek to drive Israel into the sea. The settlements, he added, must be weighed in security and not in economic terms, but the fact is that they offer a cheap substitute for expensive army camps.

Mr. Drobles's rather tired old argument is derived from the 1981 guidelines of the second Likud government. But, ironically, there is nothing in the 1984 guidelines to directly contradict it. How, then, could it be opposed?

Premier Shimon Peres, Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin all suggested to the Farmers Federation that it must be opposed because whatever money is available today should go into existing settlements in the Negev, Galilee, the Golan and especially the Jordan Valley, where farmers are on the verge of financial collapse. Mr. Ya'acobi also suggested that mammoth investments in Judea and Samaria settlements would reignite inflation.

This does not quite follow. The infrastructure needed for the new settlements already exists for the most part. The raising of a few makeshift caravans on a few hilltops does not require mammoth investments, and the Settlement Department can afford the expense.

The true argument against a settlement drive now is that its purpose is to help Mr. Shamir overturn the peace policy laboriously devised by Mr. Peres. But this is a political, not a constitutional argument. Mr. Ya'acobi is wrong in assuming that policy cannot - because it must not - change with the switching of roles between the premier and the foreign minister: there is nothing in the policy guidelines to prevent it. The thought evidently did not occur to Alignment leaders when they entered into matrimony with the Likud.

U.S. plays Likud role

Benny Morris

WHEN HE flew to Alexandria a fortnight ago to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Prime Minister Peres took along with him Likud MK Dan Meridor, a true-blue if very gentlemanly hardliner. Critics scoffed that "he went as kashrut supervisor" as the member of the entourage who would make sure that Peres stayed within the bounds of the national unity government's guidelines and said, did and agreed to nothing that would be unpalatable to Likud.

When he flew to Washington last week, Peres took no one along from the Likud. As it turned out, he didn't need to. The American leaders took on the role of Likud stalwarts, adding difficulty, qualification and reservation to the latest (last?) Peres attempt to get the Middle East peace process moving again.

The U.S. traditionally has played a positive, peace-generating role in Middle East politics. It has been a successful honest-broker and mediator for over a decade - starting with the Rogers Plan, and moving through the Kissinger disengagement shuttles of 1973-75, the Carter mediation of the Camp David agreements and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty of 1978-79, the mediation of the Lebanese-Israeli accord of May 1983 and the mediation of the Taba compromise over the past year.

For the past year or two, Israel on and off has pressed the U.S. - singled and chastened by its experiences in Lebanon in 1983-84 - to increase its role and raise its profile in Middle East peace efforts, perhaps including a personal shuttle between Jerusalem, Cairo and Amman by Secretary of State George Shultz.

Hence, imagine Peres's surprise when he reached Washington last week after a very successful summit with Mubarak, only to have the Reagan administration pour buckets of cold water on the Peres-Mubarak effort to launch an international conference to achieve Middle East peace.

Peres and Mubarak, agreed at Alexandria that the regional peace process was in a rut, and that in the absence of progress, there would be stagnation and possibly a slide to war. They noted that Peres's endeavour to advance "creeping (Israeli-Jordanian) condominium" over the West Bank had gotten nowhere, with only the establishment of a single Arab bank branch in Nablus to show for over a year of effort. There had been no devolution of the "civil administration," no Arab mayors, no popular abandonment of the PLO or opting by the locals for a Hashemite solution.

Peres and Mubarak agreed that there was only one realistic avenue for advancing regional peace at the moment - the convening of an international peace conference, to be attended by the Great Powers and by the regional parties to the conflict. The path to the conference was to be paved - timetables, agenda venue, participation - by a "preparatory committee," composed of representatives of Israel, Egypt and Jordan (and possibly also Palestinians). IN SPEAKING of an international conference, the Arab states - including Egypt and Jordan - have traditionally agreed on the necessary participation of all five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the U.S., Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China.

Israel has traditionally been enthusiastic about the concept of an international conference. The Likud has always flatly opposed the idea (save for former premier Menachem Begin's readiness to agree to such a conference in 1977), arguing that it would have an automatic "anti-Israel" majority (The Soviet Union, China and France?) and would be a recipe for an "imposed solution," unpalatable to Israel. Labour, for the same reasons, has been generally lukewarm about the idea.

But Peres, partly because he has been unable to make or contemplate progress towards peace along any other route and partly because this is the vehicle that Egypt and Jordan have consistently proposed, has gradually warmed up to the idea over the past year.

Indeed, Peres's terminology regarding the conference has kept pace with his changed viewpoint. Last year, haltingly, carefully, he spoke of an "international forum," "international accompaniment" and an "international umbrella" within, alongside or under which peace could be achieved. In recent months, coming to a head at the Alexandria summit, Peres has shifted to full-throated support for a fully-fledged "international conference."

To be sure, Peres asserted that Israel has set conditions for Soviet participation in such a conference - re-establishment of relations and a changed Soviet policy towards Soviet Jewish emigration. (Curiously, Israeli spokesmen rarely if ever refer to China in this connection, though clearly the condition of establishing relations before participation in an international conference must also apply in China's case.)

Occasionally, however, Peres publicly signalled a measure of flexibility in this connection when (adventantly?) omitting one or other of these "conditions" (relations, Jews), as if to say: The Soviet Union can participate if it accedes to at least one of these conditions, preferably the condition relating to the exit of Soviet Jews.

But at Alexandria a fortnight ago, Peres in his talks with Mubarak and, later speaking to reporters, indicated even more clearly that Israel's "conditions" for Soviet participation, insofar as it was up to him, were no conditions at all. Israel would demonstrate unqualified "flexibility" in this regard: Israel's "conditions" would not be the bar to the convocation of the international conference, he stated clearly.

Of course, there was more than a touch of realism here. Peres understands that there cannot be and will not be any international conference without Soviet participation. Jordan and the Palestinians, and probably Egypt as well, not to mention Syria, would simply not attend a conference in which the Soviets were absent. A conference without the Soviets will be a "conference" between the U.S. and Israel, meaning no conference at all. As Peres certainly realizes, Soviet participation is the condition for the conference's taking place.

SO PERES and Mubarak publicly committed Egypt and Israel to an international conference, to be preceded by the setting up of a preparatory committee. Mubarak informed Peres that Jordan was in principle amenable to attending such a conference, though the problem of Palestinian representation at the conference and in the preparatory committee remained unresolved. Peres, in fairly clear terms signalled that the Israeli "conditions" to Soviet participation in the conference would not be pressed home.

But almost immediately after stepping off the plane in Washington, in a jubilant mood, Peres was flooded by the unexpected mood in the Reagan administration. There was a lack of synchronization, as it were, between the global, East-West

peace process and the Middle Eastern footwork.

While the superpowers had not quite reverted to the Cold War, there was clearly a great deal of tension, indeed anger and suspicion, between Washington and Moscow as Reagan and Gorbachev readied for their prospective summit later this year. A vast gulf separated the two powers' positions on nuclear disarmament or arms reduction and a great deal of heat was generated by the Daniloff "hostage" crisis. Washington was in a "get tough with the Soviets" mood.

Besides, the U.S. had achieved a unique position as trusted mediator between the Arabs and Israel in the Middle East, having excluded and kept out the Soviet Union since 1972-73. So why let the Soviets back in?

Reagan and Shultz, taking Peres at his public word, stressed that Soviet participation in an international conference was unthinkable unless and until Moscow re-established ties with Israel and allowed its Jews to emigrate freely. And an international forum, even if set in motion, should by no means be seen as a substitute for direct Israeli-Arab negotiations, which was the only realistic way to achieve peace in the region. The Americans said and did everything short of rejecting outright the whole concept of an international conference, as agreed upon at the Alexandria summit.

Of course, the Americans are interested in using "permission" for the Soviets to participate in an international conference as a bargaining card. The U.S. will remove its objections if the Soviets make concessions in Afghanistan or Central America.

Meanwhile the U.S. is playing tough.

Perhaps the Americans are also prompted by the consideration that Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir would shortly be assuming the premiership and that theoretical agreement with Peres and the Arabs on uncondition-

al Soviet participation in the conference would ruffle Likud sensibilities. In any case, the concept would never reach first base in Israel after rotation. If Peres had been unable to fully commit the Israeli government to participation in an international conference when he was premier, how could he do so when he was reduced to foreign minister?

Peres, left with little choice, joined his hosts in reiterating the original Israeli conditions for Soviet participation in an international conference and reverted to referring to an "international forum" which would be not an alternative to but a means of achieving direct Israeli-Arab negotiations. And President Mubarak, who is shortly expected in Washington armed with major new economic aid requests, issued a statement couched in similar terms. He too needs the Americans.

Thus the U.S., reversing its decade-long contribution to Middle East peace, last week added another nail in the coffin in which Peres's latest peace maneuvering is being interred. It is probable, given Likud opposition, the imminence of rotation and the apparent insolubility of the problem of Palestinian representation and participation in the Middle East peace process, that the ideas of a preparatory committee - incidentally, first proposed by the Soviets and the French earlier this year in Paris - and of an international conference were a non-starter. But it is regrettable that the U.S. allowed its global considerations to adversely bear on and deflate the only hope of Middle East peace on the horizon. And it is ironic that this American attitude should come to the fore at a moment when Israeli-Soviet relations - as expressed at the Peres-Shevardnadze meeting in New York - appear to be launched on a course of "normalization" which might, within months, erase the need for the Israeli "conditions" for Soviet participation in an international conference on Middle East peace.

READERS' LETTERS

THE AMERICAN INDIANS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Alex Berlyne, in his article entitled "Jioux" (August 29), leaves the impression that the O-kee-pa ceremony was an initiation or torture ceremony particular to the Mandan tribe. In fact, the Larota (Sioux for allies), Cheyenne, Arapaho, Plains Ojibwa, Cree, Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Assiniboin, Crow and several other tribes all practised the Sun Dance, which was a ritual of great power to Wakan Tanka - the Great Mystery (not an initiation ceremony) and was generally sponsored by a good woman of pure reputation who wished to fulfil a vow, cure a loved one or achieve some mighty goal. The ceremony lasted a week and included the buying and selling of medicine bundles, minor social dances, and was the period young people met and marriages were arranged.

Concerning the debate as to whether Little Sun Bordeaux is the great-grandson of Crazy Horse, some history might be in order. Crazy Horse entered into a loveless marriage arranged by his parents in 1865, with Black Robe Woman. The next fall, he ran away with the wife of subchief No Water, who tracked him down and shot him in the cheek. Only the peace-making efforts of Crazy Horse's friend, Touch the Cloud, saved the situation. No Water's wife returned to her husband, but many other affairs followed. Shortly before Black Robe Woman died, Crazy Horse took a second wife, Nellie Laravie, who was a half-breed French girl. It seems that with such a beginning, Crazy Horse might easily have several great-grandsons.

The American Indian, in all of his dealings with "the Grandfather in Washington," has always lost out in a process that continues to this day. The Federal Government is at present attempting to take a huge chunk of Navaho land and to relocate (again) all the inhabitants there in so that the Peabody Coal Company, owned by the Mormons, can strip-mine the whole area.

MIKE BEN-AMI
Kibbutz Be'er.

RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Geoffrey Wigoder's review of *Dynamic Judaism: The Essential Writings of Mordecai Kaplan* (August 29), which I co-edited with Professor Mel Scult, conveys the impression that Kaplan was opposed to the establishment of Reconstructionist Judaism as a fourth denomination in Jewish religious life. That was true only until Kaplan became convinced that neither the Conservative nor Reform movements would be hospitable to his anti-authoritarian and anti-supernaturalist approach, and that the Conservative movement was consciously trying to hamper efforts to spread his ideas.

In the 1960s he vigorously supported Reconstructionist independence from the Conservative movement and encouraged the establishment of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia where he himself taught. It goes without saying that none of this compromised Kaplan's faith in the principle of unity in diversity in Jewish life and his loyalty to Klal Yisrael.

EMANUEL S. GOLDSMITH
Associate Professor of Jewish Studies
Queens College
New York.

HUMILIATED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - So, we read the happy news that "prisoners will no longer need to stand in line for their food..." (September 2). They are presumably healthy people and they had better try to stay healthy, for if they ever require treatment in the surgical departments of Assaf Harofe Government Hospital, they will again need to stand in line for their meals.

One would think that people who have just undergone an operation and are hardly able to carry a tray in their hands deserve to have their meals served at the table. Two and a half years after an operation, I still remember my humiliation at having spilled food all over myself.

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(Name and address supplied.)
Rishon LeZion.

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